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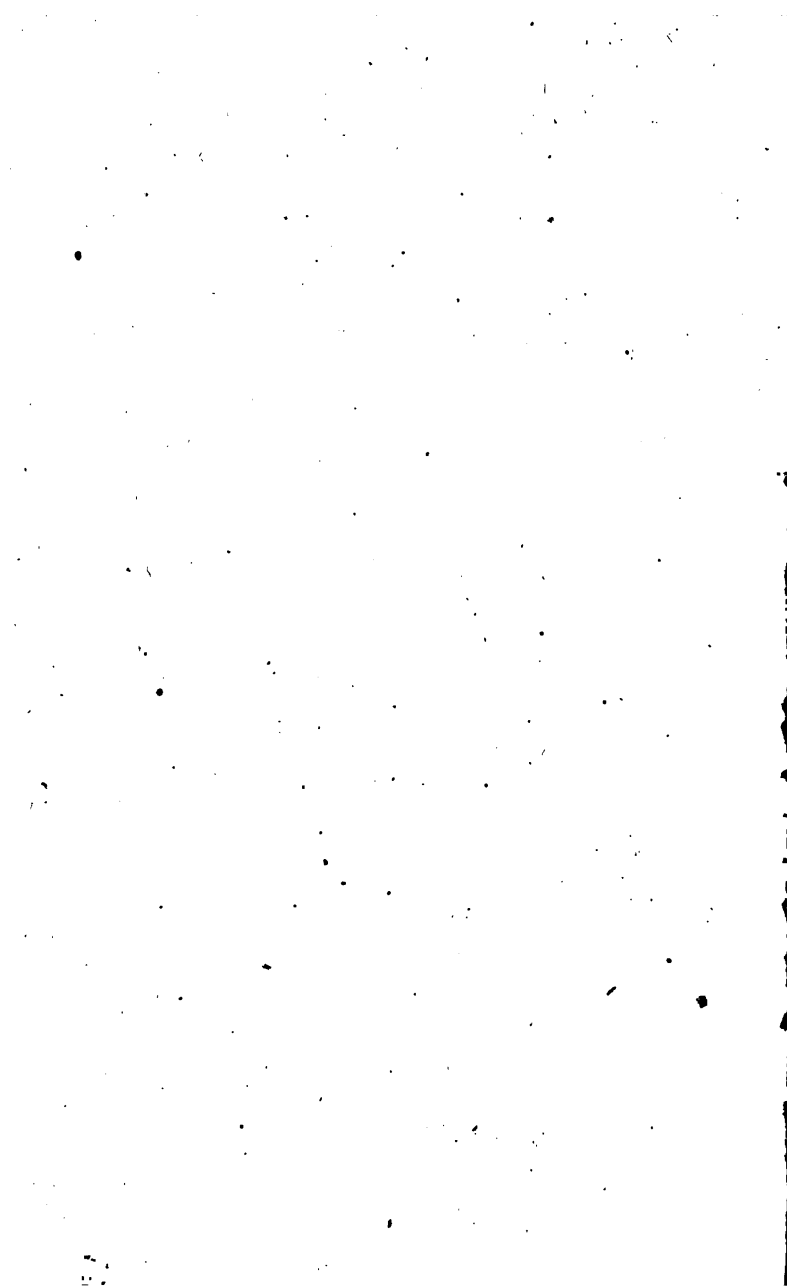




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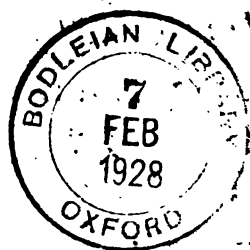
THE NEW YORK

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
Constitution, Discipline,
Unity & Worship,
OF THE
Primitive Church,
That Flourish'd within the first
Three Hundred Years after
CHRIST.

Faithfully Collected out of the Ex-
tant Writings of those Ages.

By an Impartial Hand.

Printed in the Year 1712.



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE Design of the following Treatise is in general to represent the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourish'd within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ ; but more particularly and especially to describe their Opinions and Practices, with respect to those things that are now unhappily controverted between those of these Kingdoms, who are commonly known by the Names of Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists ; for which reason it comes to pass, that to those Points, concerning which there is no difference amongst us, I have not spoken so largely as otherwise I might have done ; and some other Customs of theirs I have not mentioned at all, because now neglected and disused by us.

The Preface.

What I have written as to this Subject, I have wholly collected out of the Genuine and unquestionably Authentick Writings of those Ages, that are now extant, making use of no other Writings whatsoever, except the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, which was writ in the beginning of the Fourth Age, and relates only those Affairs that were transacted in the Three former, beyond the Period of which time this Enquiry doth not reach; but is wholly limited thereto, and confin'd therunto. That which hath been thus collected, has been done, I hope, with the greatest Impartiality and Fidelity, without any prepossession of Mind, or any fraudulent dealing whatsoever, which the Reader may the sooner believe, and the easier be convinced of, since for the clearer Demonstration of my Faithfulness and unprejudicedness herein, I have taken care to print in the Margent the Original Words of all the Passages that I have cited, at least of all that are necessary, together with the very Pages whence I fetch'd them, that so the Reader turning to the Pages mentioned in those Editions that I use, (which Editions I shall set down at the end of this Preface) and finding it according to my Quotations, may the more readily be perswaded, that throughout this whole Treatise there been every way honest and unbiass'd.

And

The Preface

I And as I have faithfully and impartially collected these Observations, so I have as modestly and unconcernedly represented them, avoiding all Words or Speeches that might seem to carry the least sharpness or Reflection in them, and have as nakedly expressed them, declining all affected or pompous Expressions, contenting my self with those Terms, that most naturally serve to render the Truth more perspicuous and evident, according to the Observation of Clemens Alexandrinus, * He that would deliver the Truth, ought not studiously to affect an Elegancy of Expression, but only to use such Words, whereby he may render what he means intelligible.

* Οὐδὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἀποκρίσας, οὐδὲ ἐπιβόλως, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς ἂν ἴσως, ὁ Θεὸς ἴδῃ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀκούῃ. Socr. mat. lib. 2. p. 163.

Whether all, or some, or none of the following Primitive Customs may be changed by the Civil Magistrate, or by a Convocational Assembly, I pretend not here to handle; my Design at present is only to search into matter of Fact, to find out what were the Usages of the Ancient Church within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; for, as was said before, no lower do I intend to go, which after the most impartial and serious Enquiry, I find to be according to the ensuing Treatise, in the penning whereof I have avoided all

The Preface.

Prolixity and Tediousness, and for that end omitting to answer several Objections, that I know may be made against several things which I have here asserted, mine Intention being briefly and perspicuously to prove what I judge to be the true Practice of the Primitive Church, as to those Points now disputed by us.

As for the Occasion of my Publishing this Treatise, it cannot be imagined to proceed from a Spirit of Vanity or Ambition, since I so far conceal my Name, as that even my Bookseller knows not who I am; much less, I hope, will it be construed by any, to proceed from a Spirit of Contention and Animosity, from an ill Design to foment and increase our present Feuds and Divisions; since I assure the whole World, our unnatural Quarrels do so much afflict and trouble me, as that I would sacrifice not only this Book, but also all that I either am or have, if thereby I might be an happy Instrument to compose and heal them. But amongst other Reasons, these two were the chiefest that swayed me hereunto. To inform others, and To inform my self: To inform others what the Practices of the Primitive Apostolick Churches were, if any shall be inquisitive and desirous to know them; or, if I am mistaken, (as who is without his Errors?) to be better informed.

The Pledge,

informed my self, which, I must needs confess, was that which I chiefly designed in the Publication hereof; wherefore without any Ostentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent Mistakes in my younger Years, I humbly desire, (if the Request be not too bold) and shall heartily thank any Learned Person, that will be so kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one, or more Particulars, which he may do, either Publickly, or if he thinks fit, Privately, by Letter to my Book-seller, who will convey it safely to my Hands; and if any one that finds me deceived in any one or more Points, will favour me so far, as to undertake such a trouble, I should desire these few things of him, That he would be pleased, as I have done, to use only those Writings that were composed within my prescribed time, and if possible, the same Editions, and not only to form Objections against what I have written, but also to answer, or rather to give me another Sense of those Passages which I have cited, and then I promise, if my Mistakes are fairly shewn, I will not pertinaciously and obstinately defend them, but most willingly and thankfully renounce them, since my Design is not to defend a Party, but to search out the Truth,

The Preface.

I have but one thing more to add in this Preface, and that is, that when I first resolv'd on the printing of this Treatise, I design'd to have publish'd my Observations on the fourth general Head propounded in the Title Page to be enquir'd into, viz. The Worship of the Primitive Church, as well as now I have done those on the three former, but for some Reasons I have refer'd this for a particular Treatise by its self, which probably, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little time more be also publish'd; and that the rather, because in this Part I have made two or three References therunto, which I thought good to acquaint the Reader with, that so if he cannot find some things that I have refer'd to in this Treatise, he may be assur'd they are to be met with in the ensuing one.

The Primitive Authors mentioned in this
Treatise, together with those Editions that
I have made use of, are as follow.

S Ignatii Epistola Græco-Latin. Quarto, Edit.
Isaci Vossii. Amstelodam, 1645.

S. Barnabæ Epistola Catholica, Edit. ad Casum
S. Ignatii, Quarto. Amstelodam, 1645.

S. Clementis Romani Epistola Græco-Latin.
Quarto Edit. Patricii Junii. Oxonii, 1633.

E. Irenæi Opera, Folio, Edit. Nic. Galassii. Ge-
neva, 1580.

S. Iustini Martyris Opera Græco-Latin. Folio.
Coloniæ, 1686.

Epistola Plinii Secundi Trojano Imperatori de
Christianis in fronte Operum Iustini Martyris.
Colon. 1686.

Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Folio Edit. Hein-
sij. Lugdun. Batav. 1616.

Tertulliani Opera, Folio Edit. Paris. 1580.

Novationi De Trinitate & De Cibus Judaicis
inter Opera Tertulliani. Edit. Paris. 1580.

Cypriani Opera, Folio. Edit. Sim. Goulart. apud
Johann. le Preux. 1593.

Vita Cypriani per Pantium ejus Diaconum. In
fronte Oper. Cyprian. Edit. Goulart. 1593.

Fragmentum Victorini Petavienensis De Fabrica
Mundi, pag. 103, 104. Hister. literar. Dr. S.
Cave, Edit. Folio. Londini, 1688.

Minucii Felices Octavian Edit. ad Cæciliæ Ter-
tullian. Apolog. per Desiderium Herwaldum. Quarto.
Paris. 1613.

Origeni

Authors cited in this Treatise.

Origenis Commentaria omnia quæ Græcè Reperiuntur, Edit. de Huetii. 2 Vol. Folio. Rothomagi. 1668.

Origenis contra Celsum, Libri Octo, & ejusdem Philocalia Græco-Latinæ. Edit. Quarto, per Gulielm. Spenter. Cantabrigiæ, 1677.

Origenis de Lætiâ, seu, De Oratione, Græco-Latinæ. Octavo. Oxoniæ. 1685.

As for those other Works of Origen which are extant only in Latin, I have made no use at all of those of Ruffin's Translation, except his Creed, - since in them we know not which we read, whether Origen or Ruffin; and as for those which were translated by more faithful Hands, I have used the Editions of Merlin or Erasmus; without nominating the Page.

Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiastica Historia Græco-Latinæ. Folio. Edit. Henrici Vales. Paris. 1659. I have read only the seven first Books of Eusebius's History, because the three others go beyond my limited Time.

As for the Writings of S. Gregory of Nyssa, they are but few, and from thence I have taken nothing but his Creed, so that there is no need to mention any Edition of his Works. The same may say likewise of the short Epistle of Polycarp, which I have cited but once, and therein have used the Version of Dr. Cave, extant in his *Apostolici*, page 127.

There are yet some other Fathers whose remaining Tracts I have read, as Theophilus Antiochenus, Athenagoras, &c. who are not cited in this Treatise, because I have found nothing in them pertinent to my Design.

(4)

An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church.

CH A P. I.

- §. 1. *The various Significations of the word Church.*
§. 2. *A particular Church the chief Subject of the ensuing Discourse: The constituent parts thereof, Two-fold, viz. Clergy and Laity.* §. 3. *Each of these had their particular Functions, and both their joint Offices: Three things on which a great part of the following Discourse depends, proposed to be handled, viz. The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, The Peculiar Acts of the Laity, and the Joint Acts of them both.* §. 4. *The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy propounded to be discussed according to their several Orders: First, of the Bishops: A View of the World as it was in a state of Heathenism, at the first Preaching of Christianity, necessary to be considered: Where the Apostles planted Churches, they appointed the first Converts to be Bishops thereof.* §. 5. *But one Bishop in a Church: The Orthodoxy of the Faith proved from the Succession of the Bishops: The Titles and Relation of the Bishop to his Flock.*

§. 1. **T**HAT we may give the more clear and distinct Answer to this important

The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

1
 next Query, it is necessary, that we first examine the Primitive Notion of the Word *Church*, upon the due apprehension of which depends the Right Understanding of a great Part of our following Discourse.

This word, *Church*, as in our modern acceptation; so also in the Writings of the Fathers, is equivocal, having different Significations according to the different Subjects to which it is applied. I shall not here concern my self about the Derivation of the Word, or its Original Use amongst the Heathens, from whom it was translated into the Christian Church; but only take notice of its various Uses amongst the ancient Christians, which were many, as,

1. It is very often to be understood of the *Church Universal*, that is, of all those, who throughout the face of the whole Earth profess Faith in Christ, and acknowledged him to

be the Saviour of Mankind. This *Irenæus* calls,

1. ἡ ἐκκλησία, καὶ ὅλη ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς οὐρανόθεν καὶ τῆς γῆς διασποράς. Lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 34.

2. The Church dispersed thro' the whole World to the ends of the Earth, and

2. ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἀσπορίᾳ διασποράς. Lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 36.

3. The Church scattered, in the whole World. And *Origen* calls it,

3. ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἀσπορίᾳ. Quod Eccl. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226.

4. The Church of God under Heaven. This is that which they called the *Catholic*

Church, for *Catholic* signifies the same as *Universal*. Thus *Polycarp*

when he was seized by his Murderers, prayed for

4. ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἀσπορίᾳ. Quod Eccl. lib. 1. c. 15. p. 131.

5. The Catholic Church throughout the World. And

καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἀσπορίᾳ.

in this Sense *Dionysius Alexandrinus* calls the persecuting Emperor *Maximian* *Warrior against the Catholic Church of God.* *ad Herm. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 40. p. 250.*

H. The word Church is frequently to be understood of a particular Church, that is, of a Company of Believers, who at one time, in one and the same place, did associate themselves together, and concur in the Participation of all the Instructions and Ordinances of Jesus Christ with their proper Pastors and Ministers. Thus *Augustinus* mentions that Church *which is in any place.* And so *Dionysius Alexandrinus* writes, that when he was banished to *Cyprus* in *Lybia*, there came so many Christians unto him, that even there he had a Church. *Tertullian* thinks that, *Three were sufficient to make a Church.* In this Sense we must understand, *the Church of Rome, the Church of Smyrna, the Church of Antioch, the Church of Athens, the Church of Alexandria, or the Church in any other such place whatsoever, that is, a Congregation of Christians assembling all together for Religious Exercises at Rome, Antioch, Smyrna, Alexandria, or such like places.*

En quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia. Lib. 2. c. 56. p. 158.

Πλὴν ἀποστάσαντων ἡμῶν ἐκκλησία. Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 259.

Ubi tres, Ecclesia est. Exhort. ad Cassian. p. 452.

Ecclesia Romana, Cyprian. Epist. 31. §. 3. p. 70.

Ecclesia ἡ ἐν ἡμῶν. Ignat. ad Smyrn. p. 1.

Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν ἡμῶν. Idem. Ibid. p. 1.

Ecclesia ἡ ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῃ. Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 3. cap. 9.

4 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

III. The word *Church* is sometimes used for the Place, where a particular Church or Congregation met for the Celebration of Divine Service. Thus *Paulus Samosatenus*, the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch* ordered certain Women

to stand ⁴ in the middle of the Church, and sing Psalms in his Praise. So *Clement Alexandrianus* advises that Men and Women should with all

⁴ Εν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud
Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 281.

⁵ Ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαίῳ.
Pedag. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 189.

Modesty and Humility enter ⁵ into the Church. So the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* in their Letter to *Cyprian*, concerning the Restitution of the Lapsed, give us

⁶ Adeant ad limen Ecclesie. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31. §. 7. p. 71.

And in this Sense is the Word frequently to be understood in ⁷ *Tertulian*, ⁸ *Origen*, and others;

⁷ De prescript. advers. Hæret. p. 90. De Corona Militis, p. 336. And very often in his Book De Virginibus Velandis.

⁸ De Orat. §. 20. p. 132.

IV. I find the Word *Church* once used by *Cyprian* for a Collection of many particular Churches, who mentions in the singular Number, ⁹ the Church of God

⁹ In Provincia Africa & Numidia Ecclesiam Domini, Epist. 71. §. 4. p. 214.

Else I do not remember, that ever I met with it in this Sense, in any Writings either of this, or the

of the Church, and sing Psalms in his Praise. So

Clement Alexandrianus advises that Men and Women should with all Modesty and Humility enter ⁵ into the Church. So the Clergy of the

Church of *Rome* in their Letter to *Cyprian*, concerning the Restitution of the Lapsed, give us their advice, ⁶ That they

should only come to the Threshold of the Church-door, but not go over in

And in this Sense is the Word frequently to be understood in ⁷ *Tertulian*, ⁸ *Origen*, and others;

to receive whose Testimonies at large would be both tedious and needless.

IV. I find the Word *Church* once used by *Cyprian* for a Collection of many particular Churches, who mentions in the singular Number, ⁹ the Church of God

in *Africa* and *Numidia*. Else I do not remember, that ever I met with it in this Sense, in any Writings either of this, or the

the taste of the Fathers: but whenever they would speak of the Christians in any Kingdom or Province, they always said in the Plural; *The Churches*, never in the Singular, *The Church* of such a Kingdom or Province. Thus *Dionysius Alexandrinus* doth not say the Church; ¹ but the Churches of Cilicia: And so *Irenæus* mentions, ² The Churches that were in Germany, Spain, France, the East, Egypt and Lybia. So also *Tertullian* speaks of the ³ Churches of Asia and Phrygia, and ⁴ the Churches of Greece. And so of every Country they always express the Churches thereof in the Plural Number.

V. The Word *Church* frequently occurs for that, which we commonly call the Invisible Church, that is, for those, who by a Sound Repentance and a Lively Faith, are actually interested in the Lord Jesus Christ: According to this signification of the Word must we understand *Tertullian*, when he says, *that Christ had espoused the Church*, and, *that there was a Spiritual Marriage between Christ and the Church*. And that of *Irenæus*, ⁵ *That the Church was fitted according to the form*

¹ 'Αὐτὸς ὁ Κίλικας ἐκκλησίας. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 251.*

² 'Αὐτὸς ἐν Ἑρμανίου δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, ἐν Κελταῖς, καὶ ταῖς Ἀνατολαῖς ἐν Ἀγυπτῷ, ἐν Ἀσσυρίᾳ. *Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 36.*

³ Ecclesiis Asiae & Phrygiae. *Adversus Praxean, p. 314.*

⁴ Per Græciam Ecclesie. *De Virgin. Veland. p. 326.*

⁵ Christus sibi sponsabat ecclesiam. *Advers. Marcion. lib. 4. p. 196.*

⁶ Spirituales nuptias Ecclesie & Christi. *Enchiridion. ad Castitat. p. 455.*

⁷ Ecclesia ad figuram imaginis filii ejus coaptetur. *Lib. 4. c. 72. p. 308.*

The Translation, Ecclesiastical, &c.

of the Son of God. And in this Sense is the Word oftentimes used in others of the Fathers, as I might easily shew, if any one did doubt it.

VI. The Word *Church* is frequently to be interpreted of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church. In this Sense *Irenæus* prays, *Thus*

^a *Conversos ad ecclesiam Dei, Lib. 3. c. 46. p. 229.* the ^b *Hereticks might be reclaimed from their Heresies, and be converted to*

the Church of God; and exhorts all sincere Christians not to follow Hereticks, but to

^c *Confugere ad Ecclesiam: Lib. 5. c. 17. p. 342.* fly to the Church: Upon which account Hereticks are said to have left the

Church, as *Tertullian* told *Marcion*, that when he became an Heretick,

^d *Ab Ecclesia Christi recessit. De carne Christi, p. 13.* he departed from the Church of Christ, and their Heresies are said to be

dissident from the Church, as *Origen* writes, that the Opinion of the

^e *Ἀλλότριον ὁμιλουσίου. Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13. p. 364. Vol. 1.* Transmigration of Souls was ^f *alien from the Church.*

There are yet several other Significations of this Word, though not so usual as some of the forementioned ones, nor so pertinent to my Design, so that I might justly pass them over, without so much as mentioning them: But lest any should be desirous to know them, I will just name them, and then proceed to what is more material.

Besides then those former Significations, the Word according to its Original Import is also used for any Congregation in general; sometimes

times it is applied to any particular Sect of Hereticks, as *Tertullian* calls the *Marcionites* the Church of Marcion: At other times it is attributed to the Orthodox in opposition to the Hereticks, as by the same *Tertullian*: Sometimes it is appropriated to the Heathen Assemblies, as by *Origen*; at other times in Opposition to the Jews it is ascribed to the believing *Gentiles*, as by *Irenæus*: In some places it is taken for the Deputies of a particular Church, as in *Ignatius*. In other places it signifies the Assembly of the Spirits of just Men made perfect in Heaven, which we commonly call the Church Triumphant, as in *Clement Alexandrinus*. Once I find it denoting the *Lay* only, in opposition to the Clergy: And once signifying only *Christ* as the Head of the Faithful.

¹ Ecclesiam suam. *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 5. p. 255.

⁴ Hæreses Ecclesiam incessantes. *De præscriptis adversus Hæreses*, p. 69.

⁵ Ἐκκλησίασις ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἀδελφῶν. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 3. p. 128.

⁶ Ea quæ ex gentibus est Ecclesia, Lib. 4. c. 37. p. 271.

⁷ Ἀρχαὶ καὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ Συναγωγαὶ καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς ὁσίοις καὶ ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς ὁσίοις. *Ad Philadelph.* p. 32.

we commonly call the

⁸ Οὐρανίαν ἐκκλησίαν. *Padag.* lib. 2. c. 1. p. 104.

⁹ Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἀδελφοί, καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησίασις τοῖς ὁσίοις. *Apud Eusebium*, lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 279.

¹⁰ Ecclesia vero Christus. *Tertullianus de penitentia*, p. 382.

§. 2. But the usual and common Acceptation of the Word, and of which we must chiefly treat, is that of a particular Church, that is, a Society of Christians, meeting together in one place under their proper Pastours, for the per-

3. The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

formance of Religious Worship, and the exercising of Christian Discipline.

Now the first thing that naturally presents its self to our Consideration, is to enquire into the Constituent Parts of a Particular Church, or who made up and composed such a Church.

¹ *Epist. Eccles. Smirn. ad Eccles. Philomil. apud Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 134.*

² *Κληροί τῶ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐν δουλίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Clem. Roman. Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 1.*

In the general, they were called *κληροί*, the ³ *Elect*,

³ *the Called and Sanctified* by the Will of God. And

in innumerable places they are called *ἀδελφοί*,

the Brethren, because of

their Brotherly Love and Affection; and *οἱ πιστοί* *the Faithful*, in opposition to the Pagan World, who had no Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, nor in the Promises of the Gospel. But more particularly, we may divide them into two Parts; into the People that composed the Body of the Church, and those Persons who were set apart for Religious and Ecclesiastical Employments. Or to conform to our ordinary Dialect, into the Clergy and Laity, which is an early distinction,

being mentioned by

⁴ *Τοῖς ἀγαπῶντι τὸν κύριον ὡς ἐαυτοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντι τοὺς ἀδελφούς. Clem. Roman. Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 53.*

Clement. Romanus, and after him by *Origen*, and several others.

⁵ *Homil. 11. in Jerem. p. 113, 114. Vol. 1.*

§. 3. Each of these had their particular Offices, and both together had their joyned Employments, to all which I shall distinctly speak in the ensuing Tract, as they naturally resolve themselves into these Three Particulars:

I. The

of the Primitive Church.

I. The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.

II. The Peculiar Acts of the Laity.

III. The Joint Acts of them both.

By the Resolution of which three Questions, some Discovery will be made of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church, and of their Practice with respect to many Points unhappily controverted amongst us.

§. 4. I begin with the first of these, What were the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy? Now Here must be consider'd the Functions of every particular Order and Degree of the Clergy, which we may say to be three, *viz.* Bishops, Priests and Deacons, whose Employments we shall severally handle; as also several other Points, which under those Heads shall offer themselves unto us. I shall begin first with the Bishop; but for the better understanding both of him and the rest, it will be necessary, first of all, to consider the condition of the whole World, as it was before the Preaching of the Gospel in a state of Paganism and Darkness, having their Understandings clouded with Ignorance and Error, alienated from God, and the true Worship of him, applauding their own brutish Inventions, and adoring as God whatever their corrupted Reason and silly Fancies proposed to them as Objects of Adoration and Homage. Into this miserable state all Mankind, except the Jews, had wilfully cast themselves; and had not Christ the Son of Righteousness enlighten'd them, they would have continued in that lost and blind condition to this very day:

10 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

But our Saviour having on his Cross Triumph'd over Principalities and Powers, and perfectly conquered the Devil, who before had rul'd effectually in the Heathen World; and being ascended into Heaven, and sat down at the Right Hand of the Father, on the day of Pentecost he sent down the Holy Ghost on his Apostles and Disciples, who were then assembled at *Jerusalem*, enduing them thereby with the Gift of Tongues, and working Miracles, and both commissionating and fitting them for the Propagation of his Church and Kingdom, who having received this Power and Authority from on high, went forth Preaching the Gospel, First, to the *Jews*, and then to the *Gentiles*, declaring those glad Tidings to all Kingdoms and Provinces; so that as the Apostle *Paul* said, *Rom. 10. 18. Their sound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World*; every one taking a particular part of the World for his proper Province, to make known the joyful News of Life and Salvation through Christ therein. Thus *St. Andrew* principally preach'd the Gospel in *Scythia*, *St. Bartholomew* in *India*, *St. Matthew* in *Parthia*, *St. John* in the *Lesser Asia*, and all the rest of the Apostles had their particular Provinces allotted them, wherein they went forth preaching the Gospel; and as they came to any City, Town or Village, they published to the Inhabitants thereof the blessed news of Life and Immortality through *Jesus Christ*, constituting the first Converts of every place through which they passed, Bishops and Deacons of those Churches which they there

gathered. So saith Cle-² καὶ οὕτως οἱ ἀποστό-
mens Romanus, ² The Apo-
stles went forth preaching
in City and Country, ap-
pointing the First Fruits of their Ministry for Bi-
shops and Deacons, generally leaving those Bi-
shops and Deacons to govern and enlarge those
particular Churches, over which they had pla-
ced them, whilst they themselves passed for-
wards, planed other Churches, and placed Go-
vernors over them. Thus
saith Tertullian, ³ Cle-
mens was ordained Bishop
of Rome by St. Peter, and
Polycarp Bishop of Smirna
by St. John.

² καὶ οὕτως οἱ ἀποστό-
λοις ἐκ ἐναντίας ὡς ἁ-
γίου. Epist. 1. ad Co-
rinth. p. 54.

³ Smirnazorum Ecclesia
habens Polycarpum ab
Johanne conlocatum, Ro-
manorum Clementem à
Petro ordinatum. De pra-
script. advers. Haeret. p. 80.

§. 5. Whether in the Apostolick and Primi-
tive days, there were more Bishops than one
in a Church, at first sight seems difficult to re-
solve: That the Holy
Scriptures and ⁴ Clemens
Romanus mention many in
one Church, is certain:

⁴ Ἡμετέροισι τοῖς ἁγί-
οις οὐκ ἔστιν. Epist. 1. ad
Cor. p. 2.

And on the other hand it is as certain, that
Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the following
Fathers affirm, that there was and ought to be
but one in a Church. These Contradictions may
at the first view seem Inextricable; but I hope
the following Account will reconcile all these
seeming Difficulties, and withal afford us a fair
and easy Conception of the difference between
the Ancient Bishops and Presbyters.

I shall then lay down as sure, that there was
but one Supreme Bishop in a place, that was
the ⁵ Extraordinary. The Bishop, by way of Emi-
nency

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agency and Propriety. The proper Pastor and Minister of his Parish, to whose Care and Trust the Souls of that Church or Parish, over which he presided, were principally and more immediately committed. So

Units in Ecclesia ad
scriptus Sacerdos. Epist.
95. 5. 6. p. 138.

saith Cyprian, *There is
but one Bishop in a Church
at a time.* And so Cer-

melius Objects to Novatian,

*That he did not re-
member, that there ought*

*Our Father in the
name of the Lord to be
one. Eusebius. Ad Fabri-
um. Antioch. apud Euseb.
lib. 6. c. 43. p. 244.*

*to be but one Bishop in a
Church. And throughout
the whole Epistles of Je-
natin, and the general-
ity of Writers succeeding*

him, we find but one single Bishop in a Church, whose Quotations to which purpose would be fruitless to recite here, since the constant Practice of the Universal Church confirms it, and a great part of the following Discourse will clearly illustrate it.

Only it may not be impertinent to remark this by the way, that by the *Diadochi*, or Succession of Bishops, from those Bishops who were Ordained by the Apostles, the Orthodox were wont to prove the Succession of their Faith, and the Novelty of that of the Heret-

*Quam origines ecclesi-
asticum suum, evolvant
ordinem Episcoporum su-
orum, ita per successiones
ab initio decurrentem, ut
primus ille episcopus ali-
quid ex Apostolis vel
apostolicis viris, qui ta-*

*icks, Let them demon-
strate the Original of their
Churches, as Tertullian
challenges the Mani-
chees, and other Hetero-
ticks; Let them trace out
the Orders of their Bishops,
and see whether they have*

of the Primitive Church.

had a Succession of Bishops from any one who was Constituted by the Apostles or Apostolick Men: Thus the truly Apostolick Churches have, as the Church of Smirna has Polycarp there placed by St. John, and the Church of Rome Clement, ordained by Peter; and other Churches can tell, who were ordained Bishops over them by the Apostles, and who have been their Successors to this

Irenæus, * We challenge the Hereticks to that Tradition, which was handed down from the Apostles by the Succession of Bishops.

And in the next Chapter of the same Book, the said Father gives us a Catalogue of Bishops of Rome till his Days, by whom true Faith was successively transmitted down from the Apostles; in which Catalogue we find but one Bishop at a time, and as he died, another single Person succeeded him in Charge of that Flock or Parish.

So that this Consideration evidences also, there was but one Bishop strictly so called, Church at a time, who was related to his Flock, as a Pastor to his Sheep, and as a Father to his Children.

severaverit, habuerit torem & antecessor Hoc enim modo Eccle Apostolica census f deterunt, sicut Smirnam Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, si Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum p inde utique exhibe quos ab Apostolis in piscopatuum constitutos Apostolici seminis traces habeant. De præscript. advers. Mart. p. 78.

very day. So also sa

* Eam traditionem quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ Successiones Presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos. 13. c. 2. p. 170.

* Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 170.

* A pastore oves, lioz à parente sep. Cyr. Epist. 38. Tit. 1.

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Ar. The Titles of this Supreme Church-Officer
are most of them reckoned up in one place by

² Episcopus, Presbiterus,
Pastor, Gubernator, An-
tistes, Sacerdos. Epist. 69.
§. 5. p. 108.

³ Ἐπισκοπὸς τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας ἀρχιεπίσκοπος
ἐν τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ τῇ
ἀνατολῇ. De Officiis,
§. 35. p. 34.

Egyptian, which are, ¹ Bi-
shop, ² Pastor, ³ President,
Governour, Superintendent
and Priest. And this is
he, which in the Revela-
tions is called ⁴ the Angel
of his Church, as Origen
thinks, which Appellati-
ons denote both his Au-
thority and Office, his

Power and Duty, of both which we shall some-
what treat, after we have discoursed of the Cir-
cuit and Extent of his Jurisdiction and Super-
intendency, which shall be the Contents of the
following Chapter.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. As but one Bishop to a Church, so but one
Church to a Bishop. The Bishop's Cure never call'd
a Diocess, but usually a Parish, no larger than
our Parishes. §. 2. Demonstrated by several Ar-
guments. §. 3. A Survey of the extent of several
Bishopricks, as they were in Ignatius, Deyanir
of Smirna. §. 4. Ephesus. §. 5. Magnesia. §. 6.
Philadelphia. And §. 7. Trallium. §. 8. The
Bigness of the Diocess of Antioch. §. 9. Of
Rome. §. 10. Of Carthage. §. 11. A Rescrip-
tion on the Diocess of Alexandria. §. 12. Bi-
shops in Villages. §. 13. All the Christians of a
Diocess met together in one place every Sunday
to serve God.

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter shown
that there was but one Bishop to a
Church,

Church, we shall in this evidence, that there was but one Church to a Bishop, which will appear from this single Consideration, viz. That the ancient Dioceses are never said to contain Churches, in the Plural, but only a Church, in the Singular. So they say, ¹ the Church of the Corinthians, ² the Church of Smirna, ³ the Church in Magnesia, ⁴ the Church in Philadelphia, ⁵ the Church in Antioch, and so of any other place whatsoever, the Church of, or in such a place.

This was the common name whereby a Bishops Cure was denominated, the Bishop himself being usually called; The Bishop of this or that Church, as Tertullian saith, ⁶ That Polycarp was ordained Bishop of the Church of Smirna.

As for the Word *Diocesis*; by which the Bishops Flock is now usually exprest, I do not remember that ever I found it used in this Sense by any of the Ancients: But there is another Word, still retained by us, by which they frequently denominated the Bishops Cure, and that is *Parish*: So in the Synodical Epistle of *Isidore* to Pope *Victor*; the Bishopricks of *Asia* are twice called *Parishes*. And in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History* the Word is so applied in several hundred places. It

¹ Τὴν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν. Clem. Rom. Epist. 1. p. 62.

² Σμυρναῖς Ecclesia; Iren. new lib. 3. c. 3. p. 171.

³ Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἐφesoῦ ἐν Μαιγνησίᾳ. Ignat. Epist. 4. p. 39.

⁴ Ἐκκλησία τῆς ἐφesoῦ ἐν Φιλαδέλφειᾳ. Idem Epist. 5. p. 38.

⁵ Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Idem ibidem, p. 45.

⁶ Polycarpus in Smirnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus. Iren. l. 3. c. 3. p. 171.

⁷ Τὰς παρακλήσεις. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

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are these
 The 1st of Alexandria
 lib. 2. c. 24. p. 66.
 The 2^d of Ephesus
 lib. 3. c. 4. p. 73.
 The 3^d of Constantinople
 lib. 3. c. 4. p. 74.
 The 4th of Chalcedon
 lib. 4. c. 23. p. 144.
 The 5th of Nicaea
 lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 251.

is usual there to read of
 the Bishops of the 1st Par-
 ish of Alexandria, of
 the 2^d Parish of Ephesus,
 of the 3^d Parish of Corinth,
 of the 4th Parish of Athens,
 of the 5th Parish of Car-
 thage; and so of the
 Bishops of the Parishes of
 several other Churches;

by that Term denoting the very same, that we
 now call a Parish, viz. a competent number of
 Christians dwelling near together, having one
 Bishop, Pastor or Minister set over them, with
 whom they all met at one time to worship and
 serve God. This may be evinc'd from the in-
 tent of the Word it self, which signifies a
 Dwelling one by another, as Neighbours do;
 or an Habitation in one and the same place, as

And Euseb. lib. 4. c. 25.
 p. 129.

the Church of Smyrna
 writ to the Church of the
 Parishes in Philomelium,

And the Epistle of
 Clement Romanus is to the Church of God

Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 1.

Parishing at Corinth,
 meaning the Church, that is,
 dwelling or living in Phi-

lomelium and Corinth; so that a Parish is the
 same with a Particular Church, or a single Con-
 gregation; which is yet more evident from a
 Passage in the Dissertations of Apollonius against
 Alexander a Cataphrygian Heretic, wherein it

is said, That because that
 Heretic had been a Rob-
 ber, therefore

is said, That because that
 Heretic had been a Rob-
 ber, therefore

ris

rish to which he belonged would not receive him, that it, that particular Church or Congregation to which he appertained, excluded him from Communion because of his Depredations and Robberies; so that a Parish and a Particular Church are Synonymous Terms, signifying one and the same thing; and consequently a Bishop having but one Parish under his Jurisdiction, could extend his Government no farther than one single Congregation; because a single Congregation and a Parish were all one, of the same Bulk and Magnitude.

§. 2. But that the Bishops Diocesis exceeded not the Bounds of a modern Parish, and was the same, as in Name, so also in Thing, will appear from these following Observations, as,

1. All the People of a Diocesis did every Sunday meet all together in one place to celebrate Divine Service.

Thus saith Justin Martyr,

On Sunday all Assemble together in one Place, where

the Bishop preaches and prays; for as Ignatius

writes, Where the Bishop is, there the People

must be; and where is necessary that we do no-

thing without the Bishop; since it is unlawful to do

any thing without him; for where the Pastor is,

there the Sheep ought to

Πάσας δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐ-
νίδιον ἡμεῖς. Apol. 2.
p. 98.

Ὁν δὲ παρὶς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος
καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐστὶν.
Epist. ad Smirn. p. 6.

Ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς
χωρίοις. Epist. ad Italos. p. 42.

Ὁν ἕκαστος ἐκ τῶν ποιμένων
ἐκκλησίας, ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις. Epist.
ad Smirn. p. 6.

Ὁν δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστὶν,
ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐκκλησία ἀνα-
στὰς. Epist. ad Phila-
delph. p. 40.

follow;

him. ¹ There is but one Altar, says Ignatius, ² there is but one Bishop. At this Altar the Bishop administered the Sacrament to his whole Flock at one time. So writes Cyprian, ³ We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present. And thus it was in Justin Martyr's Days, ⁴ The Bishop's whole Diocess met together on Sunday, when the Bishop gave them the Eucharist; and if any were absent, he sent it to them by the Deacons. Certainly that Diocess could not be large, where all usually communicated at one time; and the Deacons carried about the Consecrated Eucharist to those that were absent; which would have been an endless and painful Task for the Deacons, had their Bishoprick contained more Christians in it, than one Congregation would have held. Tertullian writes, that in his Time and Country, ⁵ the Christians received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of the Bishop alone. Now in those days and places they communicated at least ⁶ three times a week, viz. Wednesdays, Fridays, and Lord's Days, which had been impossible to have been done, if

Ex. *Epist. ad Pol.* p. 41.

Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni presentante celebramus. *Epist.* 63. §. 12. p. 171.

Τὸ ὅλον λαὸν ἀναστὰς ἑνὶ τῷ ἑσπέρῳ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅταν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησιασθῇ, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος αὐτοὺς ἐκδοὺς τὴν εὐχάριστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἀποσπασμένοις διὰ τῶν διακόνων ἀποσπασμένοις.

⁴ Nec de aliorum manu quam de presidentium fumimus. *De corona militis*, p. 338.

⁵ *Vid. de oratione*, p. 661.

If the Bishop had had Inspection over more than one Congregation, as is obvious to every ones Reason; for the Bishop being Finite and Corporeal as well as others, could not be present in many places at once, but must be confined to one determinated fixed place, in which alone he could administer and dispense the Eucharist: And for this Reason it is, that *Irenaeus*

Μὴ ἀγασθῆτε χρεῖται.
Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

exhorts the Philadelphi-
ans to use the one En-
cyrift, that is, not to

leave the Bishop, and communicate else where, but to partake of that single Eucharist which was administered by him: For as he proceeds

to say in the same place,

7. Mian' yō onōkē. tē xuelē
 mānē Inōū Xerōū, tē ēn
 pōtōnōn, ēn tōmōtōnōn,
 ēē ēē ēē ēē ēē. Ibid.

7. There is but one Body of
our Lord Jesus Christ, one
Cap, ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~Alma~~, and one
Bishop: As there was but

one Bishop in a Church, for there was but one Altar, a Bishop and an Altar being Correlates. So that to set up another Altar, was a Periphrasis of a Schismatick, or of one that causelily separated from his lawful Bishop, and set up another, which was that they called *Schism*, as we shall shew in its proper place. Thus

Cyprian describes a Schismatick as one, *who contemns his Bishop, leaves the Ministers of God, and dares to set up another Altar*: And particularly he brands Novatians as such an one, because *he erected a profane Altar, that*

Contemptis episcopis,
& Dei Sacerdotibus de-
relictis constituere auct.
aliud alere. *De Unitat.
Ecclesie*, §. 150 p. 301.

9 Profanum altare exige-
re. Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.

that is, an Altar in opposition to the Altar of
Carnelian his lawful Bishop: For, as he saith
in another place, ¹ No Man can regularly consti-
tute a new Bishop, or erect
a new Altar, besides the
one Bishop, and the one
Altar: For which Rea-
son he calls the Altar that is erected by Schis-
maticks, against the One Altar of their lawful
Bishops, ² A profane Al-
tar: Which agrees with
that of Ignatius, that
³ He that is within the
Altar is pure, but he that
does any thing without the
Bishops, Priests and Dea-
cons, is impure; and as
he says in another place,
⁴ Whosoever is without the
Altar, wants the Bread of
God.

3. The other Sacrament of Baptism was ge-
nerally administred by the Bishops alone with-
in their Respective Dio-
ceses. So saith Tertullian,
⁵ Before the Bishop we re-
nounce the Devil and the
World. For as Cyprian
says, ⁶ The Bishops ought
only to baptize: And to
the same effect writes
Fortunatus Bishop of Thu-
cakeri, that our Lord Je-
sus Christ gave unto

Aut Sacerdotium novum
fieri, præter unum altare,
& unum sacerdotium, non
potest. Epist. 40. §. 4. p. 97.

² Altare profanum. Epist.
61. §. 4. p. 193.

³ O viri, sancti et
puri, qui in altari
sunt, et in altari
sunt. Epist. ad
Tralles, p. 59.

⁴ Eay nuntis i cenis rē
sancti, utpote qd
est. Epist. ad
Ephes. p. 20.

⁵ Sub Antistis contesta-
mur nos renunciare dia-
bolo & pompæ. De Coron.
Mil. p. 336.

⁶ Nam nisi in Ecclesia
præpositis licere baptiza-
re. Epist. 73. §. 6. p. 220.

⁷ Potestatem baptizandi
Episcopis dedit. Con-
cil. Carth. apud Cyprian.
p. 445.

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the Bishops the power of Baptizing. So that the Bishops did ordinarily baptize all the Persons that were baptized in their Diocesses; and if so, it is not probable, I may say possible, that their Diocesses were extended beyond the bulk of single Congregations.

4. The Churches Charity was Deposited with the Bishop, who, as *Justin Martyr* re-

ports, ^a Ἄνδρες ἐπιμενεῖ ὁρῶντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόμον καὶ διὰ ἄλλω αἰτίαν λιπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐν νόμῳ, καὶ ἀπλῶς, τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ ἀνδράσι γινέσθαι. *Apolog.* 2. p. 99.

^a was the common Curator and Overseer of all the Orphans, Widows, Diseased, Strangers, Imprisoned, and, in a word, of all those that were needy and indigent. To this charitable Office *Ignatius* adviseth ^b *Polycarpus*;

^b *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 12.

but of that Advice more shall be spoken in another place; only let us here observe, That that Diocess could not be very large, where the Bishop personally relieved and succoured all the Poor and Indigent therein.

5. All the People of a Diocess were present at Church Censures, as *Origen* describes an

^a Ἐνὶ πᾶσι καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Comment. in Matth.* Tom. 13. p. 335. Vol. 1.

Offender, as appearing ¹ before the whole Church, So *Clement Romanus* calls the Censures of the Church ² the things commanded by the multitude. And so the two offending Subdeacons and Acolyth at *Carthage* were to be tried ³ before the whole

^a τὰς ἐκκλησιᾶς καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι. *Epist. 1. ad Cor.* p. 69.

^b Plebe universa. *Cyprian. Epist. 28. §. 2* p. 64.

People.

6. No

6. No Offenders were restored again to the Churches Peace, without the knowledge and consent of the whole Diocess: So Cyprian writes, that before they were re-admitted to Communion, they were to ⁴ plead their Cause before all the People. And it was ordained by an African Synod, that except in danger of Death, or an instantaneous Persecution, none should be received into the Churches Peace, ⁵ without the knowledge and consent of the People.

⁴ Acturi causam apud plebem universam. Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.

⁵ Sine petitu & conscientia plebis. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. §. 1. p. 164.

7. When the Bishop of a Church was dead, all the People of that Church met together in one Place to chuse a new Bishop. So Sabinus was elected Bishop of Embrica, ⁶ by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood; which was also the custom throughout all Africa, ⁷ for the Bishop to be chosen in the Presence of the People. And so Fabianus was chosen to be Bishop of Rome, ⁸ by all the Brethren who were met together in one place for that very end.

⁶ De universæ fraternitatis suffragio. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.

⁷ Apud nos quoque & fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique convenient, & episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē. Ibidem.

⁸ Τὰν ὅς ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ παντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκαθίστησαν. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.

8. At the Ordinations of the Clergy the whole Body of the People were present. So

an African Synod held

Ordinationes Sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentes Conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe presente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita: prædicentur, & sit Ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ omnium Suffragio & Judicio fuerit examinata. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 4. p. 201.*

and Judgment of all.

In Ordinationibus Clericis, Fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & merita, ac merita singulorum communi concilio ponderare. *Ad Plebem Universam Epist. 33. p. 76.*

Surds & Deaf & Excommunicated persons. *Clement Romanus Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 37.*

9. Publick Letters from one Church to another were read before the whole Diocess: Thus *Cornelius Bishop of Rome*, whatever Letters he

Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 21. p. 144.*

Anno 258, determined, That the Ordination of Ministers ought to be done with the knowledge, and in the Presence of the People; that the People being present, either the Crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the Merits of the good declared; and so the Ordination may be Just and Lawful, being approved by the Suffrages And Bishop Cyprian writes that it had been his constant Practice in all Ordinations, to consult their Opinions, and by their common Counsels to weigh the manners and merits of every one: Therein imitating the Example of the Apostles and Apostolick Men, who Ordained none, but with the Approbation of the whole Church.

received from Foreign Churches, he always read them to his most holy and numerous People. And

of the Primitive Church.

And without doubt when *Familian* writ² to all the *Parish of Antioch*, they could all assemble together to read his Letter, and return answer; since we find that in those whole Church writ to another whole Church, as ³ the Church of Rome writ to the Church of Corinth. And *Cyprian* ⁴ and his whole Flock, sent gratulatory Letters to Pope *Eusebius* upon his return from Exile.

² Τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡ Συνόδῳ Ἀντιόχειας
lib. 7. c. 30. p

³ Ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ
Ῥωμαίων ἡ Πα
τριαρχικὴ τῷ Ἐ
πισκοπῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.
Epist. 1. p. 1.

⁴ Fraternitas o
prian. Epist. 58.
163.

Lastly, The whole Diocess of the Bi meet all together to manage Church. Thus when the Schism of *Felicissimus* Bishoprick of Carthage was to be debated, ⁵ It was to be done according to the will of the People, and by the consent of the Laity. And when there were some hot Disputes about the Restitution Lapsed, the said *Cyprian* promised his Diocess, ⁶ that all these things should be examined before them, and be judged by them. And so also, when they were to send a Messenger to any Foreign Church, all the people could meet together to chuse that Messenger, as they could in the ⁷ Church of Philadelphia.

⁵ Secundum quoque vestrum agenda sunt pariter & limamus. Ad Plebem
§. 7. P. 94.

⁶ Tunc exami
singula præsent
dicantibus vob
beni Epist. 12. §.

⁷ Χριστοφόρου ἡ
nat. Epist. ad Phila

Now put all these Observations together, and duly consider, whether they do not prove the Primitive Parishes to be no larger than our modern ones are, that is, that they had no more Believers or Christians in them than there are now in ours; I do not say, that the Ancient Bishopricks had no larger Territories, or no greater space of Ground, than our Parishes have. On the contrary, it is very probable that many of them had much more; since in those early Days of Christianity, in many places the Faithful might be so few, as that for twenty or thirty Miles round, they might associate together under one Bishop, and make up but one Church, and that a small one too: But this I say, that how large soever their Local Extent was, their Members made but one single Congregation, and had no more Christians in it, than our Parishes now have; for that Diocess cannot possibly be more than one single Congregation, where all the People met together at one time, Prayed together, Received the Sacrament together, assisted at Church Censures together, and dispatched Church Affairs together; and yet the Members of the Primitive Diocesses did all this together, as the preceding Observations evidently declare; so that I might stop here, and add no farther Proofs to that which hath been already so clearly proved.

§. 3. But yet that we may more clearly illustrate this Point, we shall demonstrate it by another method, *viz.* By shewing the real Bulk and Size of those Bishopricks, concerning whom we have any Notices remaining on ancient Records; and manifest, that the very largest of them

humility towards Serving-men and Serving-maids, and charitably, taking

† Χῆρι καὶ ἀγαθῶν
Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 12.

‡ Μὴδὲν αὐτὸ γινώσκον
Ibidem, p. 12.

• Πρὶν δὲ τοῖς γαμοῖς εἰ
‡ γαμῶν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
ἐν ἀποφασίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκο-
πίου. Ibidem, p. 13.

care of the Widows within his Diocese, permitting

‡ nothing to be done there without his Privy. Inso-
much • that none were

married without his pre-
vious advice and consent.

Now, how all these things
could be done, how all

this Bishoprick could meet together in one place, how the Bishop could personally know all the Members thereof by their respective Names, even the meanest Serving-maids therein; and permit none to be married without his Knowledge and Advice, without reducing this Diocese to a single Parish, I know not.

§ 4. As for the Diocese of Ephesus, there was but one Altar or Communion Table in its whole Territory, at which they all commu-

* Ἐν ἑνὶ ἄρτῳ κλῶντες.
Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20. 29.

† Ἐν μίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
συνοχῇ. ὑποτίθεται ὅτι
αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός. Ibid. p. 29.

gated together; whence they are said, † To break the one Bread; and • he

that was without or sepa-
rated from that Altar, is
said, to want the bread of

God. The Members also of this Church could all meet together in one place, to send up their joint Prayers to God in Christ: And therefore

Ignatius condemns all
those of that Diocese

‡ Ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐρχόμεθα εἰς
τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν
καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ συνανα-
στήναι. Ibidem, p. 24.

‡ who did not assemble to-
gether in that one place,
with the rest of the Mem-
bers.

best thereof, to send up their Prayers to God, as proud, self-conceited, and justly condemnable; because thereby they deprived themselves of that unconceivable Benefit, that would accrew unto them by joyning in the Prayers of the whole Church. ⁴ For if

the Prayer of one or two hath so great a force with God, how much more prevalent must the Prayer of the Bishop and the whole

⁴ Εἰ δὲ ἓν καὶ δύο προσεύχῃται κοινῶς ἰσχυρὸν ὄντων πολλῶν ἢ τοῦ ἐκαστοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκ κοινῆς. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20.

Church be? So that if to communicate together, and to pray together, be the Marks of a Particular Church, then this Bishoprick was one.

⁵ §. 5. As for the Church of Magnesia, they all assembled with the Bishop, having but one Church, and ⁶ one

Altar, ⁷ joyning all together in one Prayer, because ⁸ to have congregated elsewhere would have been against Conscience and Precept. Now how large such a Church is, where there is but one

⁵ Ἔστιν ἡ αὐτὴ Σύ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 34.

⁶ Ἐν συνάσειον. Ibid. p. 34.

⁷ Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ προσεύχῃ. Ibidem. p. 33.

⁸ Οὐκ ἀποστασόμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ βαπτίσματος καὶ ἐκκλησίας συναθροισμένης. Ibidem. p. 32.

Meeting-place, and one Altar, where all communicate and pray together, is no hard matter to determine.

⁹ §. 6. Touching the Bishoprick of Philadelphia, its Extent may be

guessed at by this, that the Members thereof could do nothing without the Bishop, who being their Shepherd, wherever

⁹ Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὃ οὐκ ἐκκλησίας εἶναι. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

¹⁰ Ὁτι ὁ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ἐκκλησίας ἀποκαθάρσει. Ibidem. p. 40.

¹ *Μία διακονία ἡρώδης ἐν ταύταις.* Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.
² *Ἐν συνάκσει.* Ibid. p. 41.

he was, they were to follow him like Sheep; ³ receiving the Sacrament all together from him; ⁴ at that one Altar belonging to their Diocese; which they might well enough do, since their Multitudes were not so great, but that on other occasions they could meet all together, as ⁵ to chuse a Messenger to send to the Church at Antioch in Syria.

§. 7. As for the Diocese of Trallium, that could be no larger than the former ones, since it had but one Altar in it, which was correlate to its one Bishop; so that to separate from the Altar, was the same, as to separate from the Bishop; whence Ignatius says, that ⁶ He that is within the Altar is pure, that is, He that doth any thing without the Bishop, Priests and Deacons, is impure.

Now let any impartial Man judge, whether all these Descriptions of those Ancient Diocesses do not forcibly constrain us to reduce them to the rate of our modern Parishes. And if these were no greater, especially Ephesus, at which place St. Paul preached three years, we have no reason to imagin, than other Bishopricks, where the Apostles never were; or at least never preach'd so long, surmounted their Bulk and Largeness.

How long it was before these Diocesses swell'd into

into several Congregations, is not my business to determine, since it happened not within my prescribed time; except in the Church of *Alexandria*; the reason and manner whereof shall be shewn in a few Leafs more, after that I have more fully evidenced this Point, by demonstrating, that the greatest Bishopricks in the World, even in the Third Century, were no more than so many single Congregations: And if this can be proved, it is the solidest Demonstration that can be given: For the larger a Church was, and the more time it had to settle and encrease its self, the greater Reason have we to expect that it should exceed all others in Numbers and Diffusiveness.

Now the four greatest Diocesses, that in those days were in the World, are *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Alexandria*: The three former of which, during the whole three hundred years after Christ, never branched themselves into several particular Congregations, though the latter did, as shall be hereafter shewn.

§. 8. As for the Diocess of *Antioch*, its Members were not so many, but that 265 years after Christ, they were able to meet all in one place, of which we have this memorable Instance, that when *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop thereof, was deprived by a Synod held in that place, and *Domnus* substituted in his room; he refused to resign the Church's House, till the Emperor *Murrian* forced him to resign that House: So that for above 250 Years after

Marcellus Bishop of *Antioch* was expelled by the Emperor *Murrian*. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 282.* To *Antioch*. *Ibidem*.

Christ,

Christ, the whole Bishoprick of *Antioch* had but one Church to serve God in.

§. 9. How large the Diocese of *Rome* was, may be conjectured by that;

1. All the People thereof could meet together to perform Divine Service, as appears by that History of a certain Confessor called *Natalis*, who returning from the *Theodasian* Heresy, put himself into the Habit of a Penitent, threw himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, as

¹ Προσποῖν τῷ ἱερατικῷ, κλήρῳ, καὶ λαῷ, τὴν ὑποπλάγχυν ἐκκλησίαν τῇ δόξῃ χρηνομένην. *Anonym. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 197.*

they went into their Publick Meeting-place, and so bewailed his Fault, ² that at length the Church was touched with Compassion towards him.

2. In this Diocese there was but one Church or Meeting-place; for when Bishop *Aureus*

¹ Ἄλλων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συγκαλεσθῆναι. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

died, ² All the Brethren met together in the Church, to choose a Successor; which distinction or nomination of place, viz.

That they met in the Church, denotes that they had but one Church all; for if they had had more Churches than one, the Historian would have left us in the dark, as to what Church they met in, whether in *St. James's*, *St. John's*, or *St. Peter's*.

3. In this Bishoprick also they had but one Altar or Communion-Table, as appears from a Passage of *Cyprian*, who describes the Schism

¹ Profanum altare erigere. *Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

of *Novatian's* Presbyter of this Church, by his erecting a Profane Altar,

in opposition to the Ahar of *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop.

4. The whole Diocess could concur together in Salutations and Letters to other Churches. Thus concludes a Letter of the Clergy of *Rome* to the Clergy of *Carthage*. * The Brethren which are in Bonds salute you, and the Presbyters, and the whole Church.

* Salutant vos fratres, qui sunt in vinculis, & Presbyteri, & tota Ecclesia. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3. §. 3. p. 12.

5. Whatever Letters were writ to that Church, were read before them all, as it was the Custom of Bishop *Cornelius*, to read all publick Letters to his most holy and most numerous Flock.

* Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere et semper literas nostras. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 22. p. 144.

6. Lastly, The People of this Diocess met all together to choose a Bishop, when the See was vacant. So upon the Death of *Antherus*, * All the Brethren met together in the Church to chuse a Successor, where all the People unanimously chose *Fabianus*. And so after the Death of *Fabianus*, *Cornelius* was chosen Bishop of that Diocess, by the Suffrage of the Clergy and People.

* Τὸν δὲ ἀδελφῶν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συγκαθήμενον, ὃ πᾶν λαόν. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 219.

* Cleri ac Plebis Suffragio. Cyprian. Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.

Now whether all these things put together, whether their having but one Communion-Table in their whole Diocess, as also but one Church, where they all usually met, do not unavoidably reduce this Bishoprick to the Circumference

conference of a modern Parish, I leave every Man to judge.

§. 10. The next Diocess to be considered is *Carthage*, which next to *Rome* and *Alexandria*, was the greatest City in the World, and probably had as many Christians in it, as either, especially if that is true, which *Tertullian* insinuates, that the tenth part thereof was Christian; for he remonstrates to *Scapula* the Per-

secuting President of that

• Quid ipsa Carthago
passura est, decimanda a
te. *Ad Scapulam*, p. 450.

City, that [•] if he should
destroy the Christians of
Carthage, he must root

out the Tenth part thereof. But yet how many soever the Christians of that Bishoprick were, even some years after *Tertullian*'s days, they were no more in number, than there are now in our Parishes, as is evident from Scores of Passages in the Writings of *Cyprian* Bishop of that Church. For,

• Ut omnes optime nos-
sem. *Cyprian. Epist.* 38.
§. 1. p. 90.

1. The Bishop of that
Diocess [•] could know eve-
ry one therein.

2. The Bishop of that Diocess was the com-
mon Curator of all the Poor therein, relieving
the Poor and Indigent, paying of their Debts,
and aiding the necessitous Tradesmen with Mo-
ney to set up their Trades. As *Cyprian* when
he was in his exil'd State, sent *Galdonius*, *Heru-*

• Ut expungeretis necel-
sitates fratrum nostrorum
sumptibus; si qui etiam
vellent suas artes exerce-
re, additamento quantum
satis esset, desideria eo-
rum juvaretis. *Idem Ibidem*

culanus, *Rogatianus*, and
Numidicus to his Church
at *Carthage*, [•] to pay off
the Debts of the indigent
Members thereof, and to
help those poor Mechanics
with

with a convenient Sum of Money, who were willing to set up their Trades. If Cyprian's Diocels had consisted of scores of Parishes, how many Thousand Pounds must he have expended, to have paid off the Debts of all the insolvent Persons therein, and to have assisted every poor Trader with a sufficient Stock to carry on his Employment?

3. All the Diocels was present, when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. So saith Cyprian, *Sacramenti veritatem*
We celebrate the Sacra- Fraternitate omni pres-
ment, the whole Brother- sence celebramus. Epist.
hood being present. 63. §. 22. p. 177.

4. When Celerinus was ordained Lector or Clerk by Cyprian, he Read from the Pulpit, *Plebi Universæ. Epist.*
 so that All the People 34. §. 4. p. 81.
 could see and hear him.

5. In all Ordinations, all the People were consulted, and none were admitted into Holy Orders without their Approbation, as is assured by Cyprian Bishop of this Diocels, who tells us, that it was his constant custom *in all*

Ordinations to consult his People, and with their common Counsel to weigh the merits of every Candidate of the Sacred Orders. 4. *In ordinationibus Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. Epist.*
 33. *ad Clerum & Plebem.*
 p. 74.

And therefore when for extraordinary Merits he advanced one to the Degree of a Lector or Clerk, without first communicating it to his Diocels, he writes from

1 Plebi Universæ. Epist. 34. p. 80. from his Exile, State to his whole Flock the Reason of it.

6. When that See was vacant, all the People met together to chuse a Bishop. Whence *Rossius* says, that *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of

2 Plebis favore. In vita Cypriani. this Diocels by the favour of the People. And

3 Populi universi Suffragio. Epist. 55. §. 7. p. 439. Cyprian himself acknowledges, that he was chosen by the Suffrage of all his People.

7. All the People of this Diocels could meet together to send Letters to other Churches,

4 Vicarias vero pro nobis ego & Collegæ, & Fraternalitas omnis has ad vos literas mittimus. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 58. §. 2. p. 163. an instance whereof we have in that gratulatory Letter still extant in Cyprian, which they sent to *Lucius* Bishop of *Rome*, on his Return from Exile.

8. All the People were present at Church

5 Secundum vestra divina Suffragia conjurati. Epist. 40. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 92. Censures, and concurred at the Excommunication of Offenders. Thus Cyprian writing from his Exile, to the People of

this his Diocels, about the Irregularities of two of his Subdeacons, and one of his Acolyths; and about the Schism of *Elcissimus*, assures them, that as to the former, when ever it should please God to return him in Peace,

6 Et cum plebe ipsa universa. Epist. 28. §. 2. p. 64. it should be determined by him and his Colleagues, and his whole Flock. And

as to the latter, that then likewise that should be transacted. ^a according to the Arbitrament of the People, and the common Counsel of them all.

^a Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, & unum nostrum commune Consilium. *Epist.* 4c. ad Plebem, §. 7. p. 94.

9. At the Absolution of Penitents, all the People were present, who examined the Reality of the Offenders Repentance; and if well satisfied of it, consented, that they should be admitted to the Churches Peace. Therefore when some Presbyters in a time of Persecution, had with too great Rashness and Precipitancy assayed some of those, that through the Violence of the Persecution had succumbed, Cyprian writes them from his Exile an objuratory Letter, commanding them to admit no more, till Peace should be restored to the Church, when those Offenders should plead their Cause ³ before all the People. And touching the same matter he writes in another place to all the People of his Diocese, that when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, then all those matters ⁴ should be examined in their Presence, and be judged by them.

³ Acturi apud Plebem universam causam suam. *Epist.* 10. §. 4. p. 30.

⁴ Examinabuntur singula presentibus & judicantibus vobis. *Epist.* 12. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 37.

Lastly, Nothing was done in this Diocese without the Consent of the People. So resolved Bishop Cyprian: ⁵ from the first time I was made Bishop, said he, I determin-

⁵ A primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consensu Plebis meae privata sententia gerere. *Epist.* 6. §. 5. p. 17.

ed to do nothing without the consent of the People. And accordingly when he was strik'd from his Flock, he writ to the Clergy and Laity thereof, that when it should please God to return

him unto them, ⁶ all
De iis quæ vel gesta *Affairs, as their mutual*
sunt, vel gerenda, sicut *Honour did require, should*
honor mutuus poscit, in *be debated in common by*
commune tractabimus. *them.*
Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.

Now whether all these Observations do not evidently reduce the Diocess of Carthage to the same Bulk with our Parishes, I leave to every one to determine: For my part, I must needs profess, that I cannot imagin, how all the People thereof could receive the Sacrament together, assist at the Excommunication and dissolution of Offenders, assemble together to elect their Bishop, and do the rest of those fore-mentioned particulars, without confining this Bishoprick within the Limits of a particular Congregation.

§. 11. As for the Diocess of *Alexandria*, though the numbers of the Christians therein were not so many, but that in the middle of the Fourth Century they could all, or at least most of them, meet together in one place, as I might evince from the
⁷ Apolog. ad Constant. *Writings of* *Athanasius*,
were it not beyond my
prescribed time; yet in the third Century they had divided themselves into several distinct and separate Congregations, which were all subjected to one Bishop, as is clearly enough asserted by *Dionysius* Bishop of this Church, who
mentions,

mentions, * the distinct
Congregations in the ex-
tremest Suburbs of the Ci-
ty. The Reason whereof
seems to be this ; Those
Members of this Bishop-

* *Ἐν ὁρισμένοις πόλιν-
των νεύροις καὶ πύ-
λαις ἀνέστησαν. Advers.
Germanum apud Euseb.
lib. 7. cap. 11. p. 260.*

rick, who lived in the remotest parts of it,
finding it incommodious and troublesome every
Lord's Day, *Saturday, Wednesday* and *Friday*
(on which days they always assembled) to go to
their usual Meeting place, which was very
far from their own Homes ; and withal being
unwilling to divide themselves from their old
Church and Bishop, lest they should seem guilty
of the detestable Sin of Schism, which consisted
in a Causeless Separation from their Bi-
shop and Parish Church, as shall be hereafter
shewn, desired their proper Bishop, to give
them leave for Conveniency sake, to Erect near
their own Habitations a Chappel of Ease, which
should be a Daughter Church to the Bishops,
under his Jurisdiction, and guided by a Pres-
byter of his Commission and Appointment,
whereat they would usually meet, tho' on some
Solemn Occasions they would still all assemble
in one Church with their one Bishop.

That for this Reason these separate Congre-
gations were introduc'd at *Alexandria*, seems
evident enough ; because *Dyonisius Alexandri-
nus* saith, that these distinct Congregations were
only in the * remotest
Suburbs ; and the Chri-
stians hercof were not as
yet arriv'd to those great
numbers, but that seventy years after they

* *Ἐν ὁρισμένοις πόλιν-
των νεύροις. Vide ut
antea.*

could meet all together in one and the same place, as might be proved from that forementioned place of *Arbanaſius*.

So that theſe diſtinct Congregations were only for the Conveniency and Eaſe of thoſe who lived at a great diſtance from the Biſhop's Church, being introduced in the third Century, and peculiar to the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*: All other Biſhopricks conſining themſelves within their Primitive Bounds of a ſingle Congregation, as we have before proved the laſteſt of them did; even *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*.

§. 12. If then a Biſhoprick was but a ſingle Congregation, it is no marvel that we find Biſhops not only in Cities, but in Country Villages; there being a Biſhop conſtituted, wherever there were Believers enough to form a competent Congregation; For, ſays *Clement*

* Κατὰ χωρὰς ἕν, καὶ πό-
λεως κηρύσσοντες καὶ δι-
κονοῦν — εἰς ἐπιſκόπους καὶ
διακόνους, *Epist. 1. ad Co-*
rinth. p. 54.

* Per omnes Provincias,
& per urbes ſingulas or-
dinati ſunt *Episcopī*, *E-*
pist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.

Epistle of the Synod of

* Ἐπιſκόπος ἑ ἡμέρων
ἀγρών τε καὶ πόλεων. *Apud*
Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.
p. 281.

Romanus, the Apostles go-
ing forth, and 'preach-
ing both in Country and
City, constituted Bishops
and Deacons there. Much
to which purpose *Cypri-*
an ſays, That 'Bishops
were ordained throughout
all Provinces and Cities;
Hence in the Encyclical
Antioch, it is ſaid, That
Paulus Samofatenus had
many Flatterers 'a-
mongſt the adjacent City
and Country Bishops; of
this ſort of Country-
Bishops

Bishops was *Zoticus*, Bishop of the Village of Comane. And we may reasonably believe, That many of those Bishops, who in the Year 258, were assembled at *Carthage* to the number of fourscore and seven, had no other than obscure Villages for their Seats, since we find not the least notice of them in *Ptolomy*, or any of the old Geographers.

* *Ζωτικός καὶ κομάνης κα-
ποῦς. Anonym. apud Euseb.
lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 182.*

* *Concil. Carthag. apud
Cyprian. p. 443.*

§. 13. But let the Bishops Seats have been in any place whatever, their Limits, as hath been proved, exceeded not those of our Modern Parishes: I do not here mean, as was said before, that the Territory of some of them was no larger; no, I readily grant that; for it is very probable, that in those places, where there were but few Believers, the Christians, for several Miles round, met all together at the greatest place within that Compass, where probably there were most Christians, whence both the Church and its Bishop took their Denomination from that Place where they so assembled. But this is what I mean, that there were no more Christians in that Bishoprick, than there are now in our ordinary Parishes; and that the Believers of that whole Territory met altogether with their Bishop for the Performance of Religious Services.

Thus it was in the Age and Country of *Justin Martyr*, who describing their solemn

• Τῇ αὖ ἡμία λειτουργίᾳ
 ἡμέρα πάντων καὶ πόλεις
 ἢ ἀγροὺς μετόντων ἐπὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεσθαι—
 ὁ ὁρῶν δὲ λόγῳ τῶν
 κηδεσίων—ποιεῖται ἐπι-
 τα ἀρετῶν προσφέρεται, καὶ
 ὁ ὁρῶν δὲ διὰ ἀναπέμ-
 πῃ—καὶ τοῖς ἐκ παλαιᾶ δια-
 τὰ διακόνων πρᾶτται. A-
 polog. 2. p. 98.

Assemblies, writes, That
 on Sunday all the Inha-
 bitants both of City and
 Country met together, where
 the Lector read some Por-
 tions of the Holy Scrip-
 tures ; and the Bishop
 preached unto them, ad-
 ministrated the Eucharist,
 and sent by the Deacons
 part of the Consecrated

Elements to those that were absent. So that the
 Inhabitants both of City and Country, assem-
 bled all at the Bishop's Church, hearing him,
 and communicating with him, following here-
 in the Exhortation of Saint Ignatius to the

• Μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ
 διχοστασιᾶς διῶν μάλιστα
 ἀλλ' ἐνωμένοι πρὸς ὁμο-
 κόπῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἁγιοκλῆ-
 ματοῖς—ὡς περ ἐν κυρίῳ
 ἡμεῖς καὶ πατέρες ἐδὲν ἐποι-
 οῦσιν ἡμεῖς καὶ ὡν, ἕτεροι δὲ
 ἡμεῖς, ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς, ἕτεροι δὲ ἡμεῖς
 ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁμοκλῆμα καὶ ὁμο-
 κλῆμα—ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ μία προσευχή μία
 εὐχὴ. εἰς ἓν μία εὐχὴ.
 Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.

Magnesians; Let no-
 thing, saith he, be in you,
 that may divide you ; but
 be united to the Bishop,
 and those that preside over
 you : As therefore our
 Lord Jesus Christ did no-
 thing without his Father,
 neither by himself, nor
 his Apostles, so do you no-
 thing without the Bishop
 and Presbyters, but assem-
 ble into one Place, and
 have one Prayer, one Sup-

plication, one Mind, and one Hope.

C H A P. III.

S. 1. *What the Bishop's Office was.* S. 2. *Always Resident on his Cure.* S. 3. *How the Bishop was Chosen, Elected, or Presented by the Majority of the Parish.* S. 4. *Approved by the neighbouring Bishops.* S. 5. *Installed by Imposition of Hands. How many Bishops necessary to this Installation.* S. 6. *When a Bishop was promoted, he certified it to other Bishops.* S. 7. *A brief Recapitulation of the peculiar Acts of the Bishop.*

S. 1. **T**HE Bishop's Flock having been so largely discussed, it will now be necessary to speak something of the Bishop's Duty towards them, and of the several Particulars of his honourable Office: I shall not here be tedious, since about this there is no great difference; only briefly enumerate the several Actions belonging to his Charge.

In brief therefore; the particular Acts of his Function were such as these, viz. *Preaching the Word, Praying with his People, administering the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, taking care of the Poor, Ordaining of Ministers, Governing his Flock, Excommunicating of Offenders, Absolving of Penitents; and, in a word; whatever Acts*

- ¹ Origen. in Ezekiel. Hom. 3.
- ² Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 98.
- ³ Tertul. de Baptism. p. 602.
- ⁴ Idem de Coron. Milit. p. 338.
- ⁵ Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 99.
- ⁶ Firmilian. apud Cypr. Epist. 75. §. 6. p. 237.
- ⁷ Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. p. 709.
- ⁸ Cypr. Ep. 38. §. 2. p. 901.
- ⁹ Idem Ep. 10. §. 2. p. 30.

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can be comprised under those three General Heads of Preaching, Worship, and Government, were part of the Bishop's Function and Office.

I have but just named these things, because they are not much controverted; and my Design leads me chiefly to the Consideration of those matters which have been unhappily disputed amongst us.

§. 2. To the constant Discharge of those fore-mentioned Actions, did the Primitive Bishops sedulously apply themselves, continually preaching unto their People, praying with them, and watching over them, and to that end, residing always with them; which Incumbency or Residency on their Parishes, was deem'd so necessary, that *Cyprian* enumerating the Sins that brought the Wrath of God upon the Churches in that bloody Persecution of *Decius*, mentions

Episcopi derelictâ cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per alienas Provincias oberrantes, negotiationis questuosâ nundinas ancupari. De lapsis, §. 4. p. 278.

the Bishops Non-Residencies as one; *Their leaving their Rectories, and deserting their Flocks, and wandring about the Country to hunt after*

Worldly Gain and Advantage: And therefore the said *Cyprian* writing to the Roman Confessors, who were inveigled into the Schism of *Novatian*,

Nos Ecclesiâ derelictâ, foras exire, & ad vos venire non possumus. Epist. 44. §. 2. p. 102.

tells them, *that since he could not leave his Church, and come in Person unto them, there-*

fore by his Letters he most earnestly exhorted them to quit that Schismatical Faction; so that

he

he look'd on his Obligation of Residency at his Church to be so binding, as that in no Case almost, could he warrant the leaving of it; which Determination of his might be the more fix'd and peremptory, because that not long before, he was so severely tax'd by the Roman Clergy; and by many of his own Parish, for departing from them for a while, though it was to avoid the Fury of his Persecutors, who had already proscribed him, and would have executed him as a Malefactor, had he not by that Recess from his Church, escaped their murderous Hand.

Epist. 3. apud Cyprian.

p. 11.

Pontius in vita Cypriani.

So that the Primitive Apostolick Bishops constantly resided with their Flocks, conscientiously applying themselves with the utmost Diligence and Industry to the Promotion of the Spiritual Welfare of those that were committed to their trust; employing themselves in all Acts of Piety, and Offices of Charity; so leading a laborious and mortified Life, till either a natural, or a violent Death removed them from Earth to Heaven, where they were made Priests to the most High, and were infinitely remunerated for all their Pains and Sorrows; and so leaving their particular Flocks on Earth, to be fed and govern'd by others, who should succeed them in their places; which brings me in the next place to enquire, How a vacant Bishoprick was supplied; or in what manner a Bishop or Minister was elected to a Diocese or Parish?

§ 3. Now the manner of electing a Bishop,

rich; and so straight-
ways taking him, they
placed him on the Epis-
copal Throne. And as
Fabianus, so likewise his
Successor Cornelius⁷ was
elected by the suffrage of
the Clergy and Laity.

ἀνταρ ὅτι ἔδειξεν τὴν
ἐπισκοπικὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῷ
ἐνθάδε, Euseb. lib. 6. cap.
28. p. 229.

⁷ Episcopo Cornelio —
Cleri. ac plebis suffragio
ordinato. Cyprian. Epist.
67. §. 2. p. 198.

Thus also with respect to the Diocess of
Carthage, Cyprian was chosen Bishop thereof
by its Inhabitants and Members, as Pontius his
Deacon writes, *That*

*though he was a Novice,
yet by the Grace of God,
and the Favour of the
People, he was elevated
to that sublime Dignity;*

⁸ Judicio Dei, & plebis
favore ad Officium Sa-
cerdotii, & Episcopatus
Gradum, adhuc Neophy-
tus electus est. In Vita
Cypriani.

which is no more than what Cyprian himself
acknowledges, who fre-
quently owns, that he
was promoted to that
Honourable Charge by
the⁹ Suffrage of the Peo-
ple.

⁹ Populi universi suffra-
gio. Epist. 55. §. 7. p. 139.
Populi suffragium. Epist.
55. §. 6. p. 138. Suffra-
gium vestrum, Epist. 40.
§. 1. p. 92.

§. 4. When the People had thus elected a
Bishop, they presented him to the neighbour-
ing Bishops for their Approbation and Consent,
because without their concurrent Assent, there
could be no Bishop legally instituted; or con-
firmed.

Thus when the fore-mentioned Alexan-
der was Chosen Bishop of Jerusalem, by
the Brethren of that place; he had also the
common

Τὸτο δ' αὐξάνοντες μα-
καριῶς ὁ δῆμιος πῶς
ταῖς πλείεσσιν ἐκκλη-
σίαις γινώσκουσιν. *Enseb. lib. 6.*
cap. 11. p. 212.

*common Consent of the
circumjacent Bishops. Now
the Reason of this, I
suppose, was, lest the
People thro' Ignorance
or Affection, should chuse*

an unfit, or an unable Man for that sacred Of-
fice, it being supposed, that a Synod of Bishops
had more Wisdom, Learning, and Prudence,
than a Congregation of unlearned and ignorant
Men, and so were better able to judge of the
Abilities and Qualifications of the Person elect,
than the People were. Hence we find, that
sometimes the Election of a Bishop is attrib-
uted to the Choice of the Neighbouring Bishops,
with the Consent and Suffrage of the People :
This Custom generally prevail'd throughout

*Africa ; where upon the
Vacancy of a See, The
Neighbouring Bishops of
the Province met together
at that Church, and chose
a Bishop in the presence
of the People, who knew
his Life and Conversation
before ; which Custom was
observed in the Election
of Sabinus, Bishop of E-
merita in Spain, who was
advanc'd to that Dignity
by the Suffrage of all the
Brethren, and of all the
Bishops there present. But
whether the Election of
a Bishop, be ascribed to
the adjoining Ministers,*

*Apud nos, & fere per
Provincias universas te-
netur, ut ad Ordination-
es rite celebrandas, ad
eam plebem qui præposi-
tus ordinatur, Episcopi
ejusdem Provinciæ prox-
imi quique convenient,
& Episcopus deligatur,
plebe præsentē, quæ sin-
gulorum vitam plenissi-
me novit, & uniuscu-
jusque actum de ejus
Conversatione perspexit.
Quod factum videmus in
Sabini Ordinatione, ut
de universæ fraternitatis
Suffragio, & de Episco-
porum judicio Episcopa-
tus ei deferretur. *Synod.
African. apud Cyprian. E-
pist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.**

or to the People of that Parish, it comes all to one and the same thing; neither the Choice of the Bishops of the Vicinage, without the Consent of the People; nor the Election of the People, without the Approbation of those Bishops, was sufficient and valid of it self; but both concurred to a legal and orderly Promotion, which was according to the Example of the Apostles and Apostolick Preachers, who in the first Plantation of Churches, Ordained Bishops and Deacons, with the Consent of the whole Church.

* Καταδείκνυται ὅτι ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνεισφορῶντος ἡ ἐκκλησίας πατρὸς. Clem. Roman. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 57.

§. 5. A Bishop being thus elected and confirmed, the next thing that followed, was his Ordination or Installment, which was done in his own Church by the neighbouring Bishops; as Cyprian mentions some Bishops in his time, who went to a City called Capse to install a Bishop; whither when they were come, they took the Bishop Elect, and in the presence of his Flock, Ordained, or Installed him Bishop of that Church, by Imposition of Hands, as Sabinius was placed in his Bishoprick by Imposition of Hands. Therefore Fortunatus the Schismatical Bishop of Carthage, got five Bishops to come and Ordain him at Carthage: And, for Novatian, when

* In Capfensi Civitate propter Ordinationem Episcopi effectis, Epist. 53. §. 1. p. 131.

* Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei imponeretur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.

* Quinque Pseudo-episcopi Carthaginem venerint, & Fortunatam sibi dementiæ suæ socium constituerint. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 12. p. 140.

he

Ἐπισκοπὸς τρεῖς ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλοῦς
 τῆς οὐλοῦσῃ πρὸς ἐπιχειρή-
 σιν ἑκαταστήσῃ — μετὰ
 βίας καὶ ἀγῶνι ἐκέντησεν
 πρὸς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονή-
 σια ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ δέ-
 ναι. Cornel. apud Euseb.
 Hb. 6. cap. 43. p. 243.

he Schismatically aspired
 to the Bishoprick of Rome,
 that he might not seem
 to leap in Uncanonically,
 wheedled three ignorant
 and simple Bishops to come
 to Rome, and install him
 in that Bishoprick by Im-
 position of Hands.

How many Bishops were necessary to this in-
 stalling of a Bishop Elect, I find not; Three
 were sufficient, as is apparent from the fore-
 cited action of *Novatian*; whether less would
 do, I know not, since I find not the least foot-
 steps of it in my Antiquity, unless that from
Novatian's sending for, and fetching just three
 Bishops out of *Italy*, we conclude that Number
 to be necessary.

But if there were more than Three, it was
 not accounted unnecessary or needless; for the
 more Bishops there were present at an Install-
 ment, the more did its validity and unexcep-
 tionableness appear: Whence *Cyprian* argues
 the undeniable Legality of *Cornelius's* Promo-

* Episcopos in Ecclesia à
 sedecim Coepiscopis fa-
 cto. Epist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.

tion to the See of *Rome*,
 because he had * sixteen
 Bishops present at his Or-
 dination: And for this

Reason it was, that *Fortunatus*, the Schismatical
 Bishop of *Carthage* falsely boasted, That

* Jactare viginti quin-
 que Episcopos affuisse.
Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 12.
 p. 140.

there were * Twenty-five
 Bishops present at his In-
 stallment. And thus in
 short, we have viewed
 the Method of the An-
 cients

cients in their Election of Bishops ; we have shewn, that they were elected by the People, approved and installed by the Neighbouring Bishops ; on which Account it is, that *Cyprian* ^{Delecti, ordinati. Epist. 41. S. 2. p. 97.} calls them *Chosen and ordained.*

§. 6. It may not now be amiss to mention this Custom, that when a Bishop was thus presented and advanced to a See, he immediately gave notice of it to other Bishops, especially to the most renowned Bishops and Bishopricks, as *Cornelius* writ to *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, an Account of his being promoted to the See of *Rome* ; betwixt which two Churches, there was such a peculiar Intercourse and Harmony, as that this Custom was more particularly observed by them, insomuch that it was observed by the Schismatical Bishops of each Church, *Novatian* giving notice to *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, of his Promotion to the Church of *Rome* : And *Fortunatus* advising *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, of his Advancement to the Church of *Carthage*.

Tu te Episcopum factum literis nunciaris. *Cyprian. Epist. 42. S. 4. p. 99.*

Venerunt ad nos missi a Novatiano Maximus Presbyter, &c. *Cyprian. Epist. 41. S. 1. p. 96.*

Ad te Legati a Fortunato missi. *Idem Epist. 55. S. 18. p. 143.*

§. 7. Let what hath been spoken now suffice for the peculiar Acts of the Bishop : We have proved, that there was but one Bishop to a Church, and one Church to a Bishop ; we have shewn the Bishop's Office and Function, Election and

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and Ordination; what farther to add on this Head, I know not: For as for those other Acts which he performed jointly with his Flock, we must refer them to another place, till we have handled those other Matters which previously propose themselves unto us: The first of which will be an Examination into the Office and Order of a Presbyter, which, because it will be somewhat long, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. IV.

§. 1. *The Definition and Description of a Presbyter; what he was.* §. 2. *Inferior to a Bishop in Degree:* §. 3. *But equal to a Bishop in Order.* §. 4. *The Reason why there were many Presbyters in a Church.* §. 5. *Presbyters not necessary to the Constitution of a Church.* §. 6. *When Presbyters began.*

§. 1. **I**T will be both needless and tedious to endeavour to prove, that the Ancients generally mention Presbyters distinct from Bishops. Every one, I suppose, will readily own and acknowledg it. The great Question which hath most deplorably sharpened and sour'd the Minds of too many, is what the Office and Order of a Presbyter was: About this the World hath been, and still is most uncharitably divided; some equalize a Presbyter in every thing with a Bishop; others as much debase him, each according to their particular Opinions, either advance or degrade him. In many Controversies

troughes a middle way hath been the safest, perhaps in this, the Medium between the two Extremes may be the truest : Whether what I am now going to say, be the true state of the Matter, I leave to the Learned Reader to determine ; I may be deceived, neither mine Years, nor Abilities, exempt me from Mistakes and Errors : But this I must needs say, That after the most diligent Researches, and impartiallest Enquiries, The following Notion seems to me most plausible, and most consentaneous to Truth ; and which, with a great facility and clearness, solves those Doubts and Objections, which, according to those other Hypotheses, I know not how to answer. But yet however, I am not so wedded and bigotted to this Opinion, but if any shall produce better, and more convincing Arguments to the contrary, I will not contentiously defend, but readily relinquish it, since I search after Truth, not to promote a particular Party or Interest.

Now for the better Explication of this Point, I shall first lay down a Definition and Description of a Presbyter, and then prove the parts thereof.

Now the Definition of a Presbyter may be this: *A Person in Holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop, but being possessed of no Place or Parish, not actually discharging it, without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish.*

But lest this Definition should seem obscure, I shall illustrate it by this following Instance : As a Curate hath the same Mission and Power with the Minister, whose Place he supplies ; yet

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yet being not the Minister of that place, he cannot perform there any acts of his Ministerial Function, without leave from the Minister thereof: So a Presbyter had the same Order and Power with a Bishop, whom he assisted in his Care; yet being not the Bishop or Minister of that Care, he could not there perform any parts of his Pastoral Office, without the permission of the Bishop thereof: So that what we generally render Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, would be more intelligible in our Tongue, if we did express it by Rectors, Vicars, and Deacons; by Rectors, understanding the Bishops; and by Vicars, the Presbyters; the former being the actual Incumbents of a Place, and the latter Curates or Assistants, and so different in Degree, but yet equal in Order.

Now this is what I understand by a Presbyter; for the Confirmation of which, these two things are to be proved.

I. That the Presbyters were the Bishops Curates and Assistants, and so inferiour to them in the actual Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Commission.

II. That yet notwithstanding, they had the same inherent Right with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct specifick Order from them. Or more briefly thus:

1. That the Presbyters were different from the Bishops *in gradu*, or *in degree*; but yet,

2. They were equal to them *in Ordine*, or *in Order*.

§. 2. As to the first of these; That Presbyters were but the Bishops Curates and Assistants, inferiour to them in Degree, or in the actual

actual Discharge of their Ecclesiastical Commission. This will appear to have been in effect, already proved, if we recollect what has been asserted, touching the Bishop and his Office, That there was but one Bishop in a Church; That he usually performed all the parts of Divine Service; That he was the general Disposer and Manager of all things within his Diocese, there being nothing done there without his Consent and Approbation: To which we may particularly add,

1. That without the Bishop's leave, a Presbyter could not baptize: Thus saith *Tertulian*, 'The Bishop hath the Right of Baptizing, then the Presbyters and Deacons, but yet for the Honour of the Church, not without the Authority of the Bishop; and to the same Effect, saith *Ignatius*, 'It is not lawful for any one to baptize, except the Bishop permit him.

' Baptismus dandi habet jus — Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate propter Ecclesie honorem. *De Baptism.* p. 602.

' Οὐκ ἔστι, τὰν ἁγίων, ἐν ἀρχιερέσι τῶν βαπτίζων, *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

2. Without the Bishop's permission, a Presbyter could not administer the Lord's Supper.

' That Eucharist, says *Ignatius*, is only valid, which is performed by the Bishop, or by whom he shall permit; for it is not lawful for any one to cele-

' Εὐχριστὸν ἀβέβαια ἐχρῆσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ὃς ἐκείνους ἐπιτρέψῃ. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

brate the Eucharist, without leave from the Bishop.

3. Without the Bishops Consent, a Presbyter could not preach; and when he did preach,

E

he

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he could not chuse his own Subject, but disc^d
coursed on those Matters which were enjoyned
him by the Bishop, as

Τὸ δὲ ἰγγραφεύδῃ,
ἐπὶ τῇ ἑταρίᾳ. Homil.
de Engastrym. p. 28. Vol. 1.

the Bishop commanded
Origen to preach about
the Witch of Endor.

4. Without the Bishop's Permission, a Pres-
byter could not absolve Offenders, therefore

Aliqui de Presbyteris,
nec Evangelii, nec loci
sui memores, sed neque
futurum Domini Judi-
cium, neque nunc sibi
præpositum Episcopum
cogitantes, quod nun-
quam omnino sub Ante-
cessoribus factum est,
cum contumeliâ & con-
temptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent. Epist. 10. §. 1.
p. 29. Vide etiam Epist. 11. §. 1. p. 31. & Epist. 12.
§. 1. p. 37.

Cyprian severely chides
some of his Presbyters,
because they dared in
his absence, without his
Consent and Leave, to
give the Church's Peace
to some offending Cri-
minals.

But what need I reckon up particulars, when
in general there was no Ecclesiastical Office per-
formed by the Presbyters, without the Consent
and Permission of the Bishop: So says Igra-
tius, ' Let nothing be

Μὴδὲ ἑὸς τῶ ἐπι-
κόπῃ περὶ τῶ ἀν-
τιπῶν διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Epist. ad Simm. p. 6.

done of Ecclesiastical Con-
cerns, without the Bishop;
for ' Whosoever doth any
thing without the know-
ledge of the Bishop, is
a Worshipper of the De-
vil.

Ὁ ἀδελφεὶς τῶν ἐπι-
κόπων τῶν διαβόλων λα-
τρεῖν. Idem ibid. p. 7.

Now had the Presbyters had an equal Power
in the Government of those Churches wherein
they lived, how could it have been impudent
and

and usurping in them to have perform'd the particular acts of their Ecclesiastical Function, without the Bishop's Leave and Consent? No, it was not fit or just, that any one should preach, or govern in a Parish, without the permission of the Bishop or Pastor thereof; for where Churches had been regularly formed under the Jurisdiction of their proper Bishops, it had been an unaccountable Impudence, and a most detestable act of Schism for any one, tho' never so legally Ordained, to have entred those Parishes, and there to have performed Ecclesiastical Administrations, without the permission of, or which is all one, in Defiance to the Bishops, or Ministers thereof; for though a Presbyter by his Ordination had as ample an inherent Right and Power to discharge all Clerical Offices, as any Bishop in the World had; yet Peace, Unity and Order, oblig'd him not to invade that part of God's Church, which was committed to another Man's Care, without that Man's Approbation and Consent.

So then in this Sense a Presbyter was inferior to a Bishop in Degree, in that having no Parish of his own, he could not actually discharge the particular Acts of his Ministerial Function, without leave from the Bishop of a Parish or Diocess: The Bishops were superior to the Presbyters, in that they were the presented, instituted, and inducted Ministers of their respective Parishes; and the Presbyters were inferior to the Bishops, in that they were but their Curates and Assistants.

§. 3. But though the Presbyters were thus different from the Bishops in Degree, yet they

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were of the very same specifick Order with them, having the same inherent Right to perform those Ecclesiastical Offices, which the Bishop did, as will appear from these three Arguments.

1. That by the Bishop's permission, they discharged all those Offices, which a Bishop did.
2. That they were called by the same Titles and Appellations as the Bishops were: And,
3. That they are expressly said to be of the same Order with the Bishops. As to the first of these, That by the Bishop's permission, they discharged all those Offices which a Bishop did; this will appear from that,

1. When the Bishop ordered them, they preach'd. Thus *Origen*, in the beginning of some of his Sermons, tells us, That he was commanded thereunto by the Bishop, as particularly when he preach'd

Τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγγρασεύδου,
ἐν ὅντι, ἐξέλαττο. *Hom. de*
Engastym. p. 28. Vol. 1.

about the Witch of *Endor*, he says, 'The Bishop commanded him to do it.'

2. By the permission of the Bishop, Presbyters baptiz'd. Thus *Textullian*, 'The Bishop has the Right of Baptizing and then the Presbyters, but not without his leave.'

Presbyters baptiz'd. Thus writes *Textullian*, 'The Bishop has the Right of Baptizing and then the Presbyters, but not without his leave.'

3. By the leave of the Bishop, Presbyters administered the Eucharist, as must be supposed

Ἐπειὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμεῶν
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

in that saying of *Ignatius*, 'That, that Eucharist only was valid, which was celebrated by the Bishop.'

shop, or by one appointed by him; and that the Eucharist could not be delivered but by the Bishop, or by one whom he did approve.

4. The Presbyters ruled in those Churches to which they belonged, else this Exhortation of Polycarpus to the Presbyters of Philippi, would have been in vain;

* Let the Presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in

* *Epist. ad Philip. 5. 5.*
Thus Translated by Dr. Cave, in the Life of St. Polycarp, p. 127.

Errors, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the Widdow and the Orphan, and him that is poor; but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and Men; abstaining from all Wrath, Respect of Persons, and unrighteous Judgment; being far from Covetousness, not hastily believing a Report against any Man, not rigid in Judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to Judgment. Hence,

5. They presided in Church-Consistories together with the Bishop, and composed the executive part of the Ecclesiastical Court; from whence it was called the Presbytery, because in it, as Tertullian says, Approved Elders did

Probati president Seniores. *Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

6. They had also the Power of Excommunication, as Rogatianus and Numidicus, Two Presbyters of Cyprian's

* *Vid. Cyprian. Epist. 38. & 39. p. 90. & 92.*

Church, by his Order join'd with some Bishops of his Nomination, in the Excommunication of

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certain Schismatics of his Diocese. But of both these two Heads, more will be spoken in another place.

7. Presbyters restored returning Penitents, to the Church's peace. Thus we read in an Epistle of *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, That a certain Offender called *Serapion*, ap-

proaching to the time of his Dissolution, *Sent* far one of the Presbyters to absolve him, which the Presbyter did, according to the Order of his Bishop, who had before command-

ed, That the Presbyters should absolve those who were in danger of Death.

8. Presbyters Confirmed, as we shall most evidently prove, when we come to treat of Confirmation: Only remark here by the way, That in the days of *Cyprian*, there was a hot Controversie, Whether those that were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholic Church, should be received as Members thereof by Baptism and Confirmation, or by Confirmation alone? Now I would fain know, Whether during the vacancy of a See, or the Bishop's absence, which sometimes might be very long, as *Cyprian* was absent two years, a Presbyter could not admit a returning Heretick to the Peace and Unity of the Church, especially if we consider their positive Damnation of all those that died out of the Church? If the Presbyters had not had this Power of Confirmation, many penitent Souls must have been damned for the unavoidable Defaute of a Bishop,

shop, which is too cruel and unjust to imagine.

9. As for Ordination, I find but little said of this in Antiquity; yet as little as there is, there are clearer Proofs of the Presbyters Ordaining, than there are of their administering the Lord's Supper: 'All

Power and Grace, saith Firmilian, is constituted in the Church, where Seniors preside, who have the Power of Baptizing, Confirming, and Ordaining; or as it may be rendred, and perhaps more agreeable

* Omnis potestas & gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit ubi praesident majores natu, qui & baptizandi & manum imponendi, & ordinandi possident potestatem. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. §. 6. p. 237.*

to the Sense of the place; Who had the Power as of Baptizing, so also of Confirming and Ordaining. What these Seniors were, will be best understood by a parallel place in Tertullian; for that place in Tertullian, and this in Firmilian, are usually cited to expound one another, by most Learned Men, as by the most Learned

Dr. Cave, and others. Now the passage in Tertullian is this; In the Ecclesiastical Courts approved Elders preside:

* Primitive Christianity. Part 3. cap: 5. p. 379.

* Probati praesident Seniores. *Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

Now by these approved Elders, Bishops and Presbyters, must necessarily be understood; because Tertullian speaks here of the Discipline exerted in one particular Church or Parish, in which there was but one Bishop; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been Elders in the Plural Number; but there being many Elders to make out their Number, we must add the Presbyters to

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the Bishop, who also presided with him, as we shall more fully shew in another place. Now the same, that presided in Church-Consistories, the same also ordained; Presbyters as well as Bishops presided in Church-Consistories; therefore Presbyters as well as Bishops Ordained. And as in those Churches where there were Presbyters, both they and the Bishop presided together, so also they Ordained together, both laying on their Hands in Ordination, as St. Timothy was Ordained ' by

Ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων πρεσβυτέρων. 1 Tim. 4. 14.

the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; that is, by the Hands of the

Bishop and Presbyters of that Parish where he was Ordained, as is the constant signification of the word *Presbytery*, in all the Writings of the Ancients. But,

10. Though as to every particular act of the Bishop's Office, it could not be proved particularly, that a Presbyter did discharge them; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove, that, in the general, a Presbyter could, and did perform them all. Now that a Presbyter could

do so, and consequently by the Bishop's permission did do so, will appear from the Example of the great Saint Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who being exil'd from his Church, writes a Letter to the Clergy thereof; wherein he exhorts and begs them ' to

Quia fungimini illis & vestris paribus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit. Epist. 5. 5. 1. p. 15.

discharge their own and his Office too, that so nothing might be wanting either to Discipline or Diligence. And much to the

the same Effect he thus writes them in another

Letter, ³ *Trusting therefore to your Kindness, and Religion, which I have abundantly experienced, I exhort and command you by these Letters, that in my stead you perform those Offices which the Ecclesiastical Dispensation requires.*

And in a Letter written upon the same Occasion, by the Clergy of the Church of Rome, to the Clergy of the Church of Carthage, we find these Words towards the beginning thereof, ⁴ *And since it is incumbent upon us, who are as it were Bishops, to keep the Flock in the room of the Pastor. If we shall be found negligent, it shall be said unto us, as it was said to our careless preceeding Bishops, in Ezekiel 34. 3, 4,*

That we looked not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that wandered, nor bound up him that was lame, but we did eat their Milk, and were covered with their Wooll.

So that the Presbyters were as it were Bishops, that in the Bishop's Absence kept his Flock, and in his stead performed all those Ecclesiastical Offices, which were incumbent on him.

Now then if the Presbyters could supply the place

³ *Fretus ergo & dilectione & religione vestra, quam satis novi, his literis & hortor, & mando, ut vos— vice mea fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit. Epist. 6. §. 2. p. 17.*

⁴ *Et cum incumbat nobis qui v. demur præpositi esse, & vice pastoris custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod & antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes præpositi erant quoniam perditum non requisivimus, & errantem non correximus, & claudum non colligavimus, & lac eorum edebamus, & lanis eorum operiebamur. Apud Gyprian. Epist. 3. §. 1. p. 11.*

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place of an Absent Bishop, and in general discharge all those Offices, to which a Bishop had been obliged, if he had been present; it naturally follows that the Presbyters could discharge every particular Act and Part thereof. If I should say, such an one has all the Senses of a Man, and yet also assert that he cannot see, I should be judged a Self-contradictor in that Assertion; for in affirming that he had all the Human Senses, I also affirmed, that he saw, because Seeing is one of those Senses. For whatsoever is affirmed of an Universal, is affirmed of every one of its Particulars. So when the Fathers say, that the Presbyters performed the whole Office of the Bishop, it naturally ensues, that they Confirmed, Ordained, Baptized, &c. because those are Particulars of that Universal.

But now from the whole we may collect a solid Argument for the Equality of Presbyters with Bishops as to Order; for if a Presbyter did all a Bishop did, what difference was there between them? A Bishop preached, baptized and confirmed, so did a Presbyter. A Bishop excommunicated, absolved and ordained, so did a Presbyter: Whatever a Bishop did, the same did a Presbyter; the particular Acts of their Office was the same; the only difference that was between them was in Degree; but this proves there was none at all in Order:

2. That Bishops and Presbyters were of the same Order, appears also, from that originally they had one and the same Name, each of them being indifferently called Bishops or Presbyters. Hence we read in the Sacred Writ of several

several Bishops in one particular Church, as the
¹ Bishops of Ephesus, and ² Philippi; that is, the Bishops and Presbyters of those Churches, as they were afterwards distinctly called. And *Clement Romanus* sometimes mentions many Bishops in the Church of Corinth, whom at other times he calls by the Name of Presbyters, using those two Terms as Synonymous Titles and Appellations; ³ You have obeyed, saith he, those that were set over you, τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, and ⁴ Let us revere those that are set over us, ἀνεμνησκώμεθα τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, which are the usual Titles of the Bishops; and yet these in another place he calls Presbyters, describing their Office, by ⁵ their sitting, or presiding over us. Wherefore he commands the Corinthians to be subject to their Presbyters, and whom in one Line he calls ⁶ ἡγουμένοις, or Bishops. The second Line after he calls ἀναβυτέραις, or Presbyters. So Polycarp exhorts the Philippians to be subject to their Presbyters and Deacons, under the name of Presbyters including both Bishops and Priests, as we now call them.

The first that expressed these Church-Officers by the distinct Terms of Bishops and Presbyters, was *Ignatius*, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century, appropriating the Title

¹ Επισκόπου. 20. Αθήν.

v. 28.

² Επισκόποις. 1. Phil. 1.

³ Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 2.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 30.

⁵ Πρεσβύτεροι. Ibid. p. 62.

⁶ Καθισμένοι πρεσβυτέρων. Ibid. p. 69.

⁷ Ὑποτάγετε τοῖς ἀναβυτέροις. Ibid. p. 73.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 88.

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tle of Bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*, or Overseer, to that Minister who was the more immediate Overseer and Governour of his Parish; and that of *πρεσβύτερος*, Elder or Presbyter, to him who had no particular Care and Inspection of a Parish, but was only an Assistant or Curate to a Bishop that had; the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, or Bishop, denoting a Relation to a Flock or Cure; *πρεσβύτερος*, or Presbyter, signifying only a Power or an ability to take the Charge of such a Flock or Cure; the former implying an actual discharge of the Office, the latter a power so to do.

This Distinction of Titles arising from the difference of their Circumstances, which we find first mentioned in *Ignatius*, was generally followed by the succeeding Fathers, who for the most part distinguish between Bishops, and Presbyters; though sometimes according to the primitive Usage they indifferently apply those Terms to each of those persons.

Thus on the one hand the Titles of Presbyters are given unto Bishops; as *Irenæus* in his Synodical Epistle, twice calls *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hegynus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Xistus* Bishops of Rome,

¹ Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

² Qui in ecclesiâ sunt Presbyteri — qui cum episcopatus susceperunt, &c. lib. 4. cap. 43. p. 277.

and whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* in one Line calls the Bishop of a certain City not far from

³ *πρεσβύτερος*, Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

⁴ *πρεσβύτερος*, or Presbyters. And those ⁵ Bishops who derived their Succession immediately from the Apostles, he calls, the Presbyters in the Church;

⁶ *ἐπίσκοπος*, Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193. he calls ⁷ the Presbyter.

And

of the Primitive Church. 67

And on the other hand, the Titles of Bishops are ascribed to Presbyters, as one of the Discretive Appellations of a Bishop is *Pastour*. Yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters *the Pastors of the Flock*. Another was that of *President*, or one set over the People. Yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters *Presidents, or set over the People*. The Bishops were also called *Rectors* or *Rulers*. So *Origen* calls the Presbyters *the Governours of the People*. And we find both Bishops and Presbyters included under the common Name of *Presidents* or *Prelates*, by *St. Cyprian*, in this his Exhortation to *Pomponius*,^{*} And if all must observe the Divine Discipline, how much more must the Presidents and Deacons do it, who by their Conversation and Manners must yield a good Example to others?

Now if the same Appellation of a thing be a good Proof for the Identity of its Nature, then Bishops and Presbyters must be of the same Order, because they had the same Names and Titles. Suppose it was disputed, whether a Parson and Lecturer were of the same Order, would not this sufficiently prove the Affirmative? That though for some Accidental Respects they might be distinguished in their Appellation,

^{*} Pastores ovium. *Epist.* 11. §. 1. p. 33.

^{*} Præpositi. *Ibidem*:

^{*} Ἀρχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ. *Comment in Matth. Vol. 1. p. 246.*

[†] Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multo magis Præpositos & Diaconos curare hoc fas est, qui exemplum & documentum cæteris de conversatione & moribus suis præstant. *Epist. 62. §. 2. p. 169.*

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pellations, yet originally and frequently they were called by one and the same Name. The same is in this Case, though for some contingent and adventitious Reasons Bishops and Presbyters were discriminated in their Titles, yet originally they were always, and afterwards sometimes, called by one and the same Appellation; and therefore we may justly deem them to be one and the same Order.

But if this Reason be not thought cogent enough, the Third and last will unquestionably put all out of doubt, and most clearly evince the Identity or Sameness of Bishops and Presbyters, as to Order; and that is, that it is expressly said by the Ancients, That there were but two distinct Ecclesiastical Orders, viz. Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons; and if there were but these two, Presbyters cannot be distinct from Bishops, for then there would be three. Now that there were but two Orders, viz. Bishops and Deacons, is plain from that Golden Ancient Remnant of *Clement*

Romanus; wherein he thus writes, 'In the Country and Cities where the Apostles preached, they ordained their first Converts for Bishops and Deacons over those who should believe: Nor were these Orders new; for for many Ages past it was thus practised concerning Bishops and Deacons; it will appoint their Bishops in Righteousness

[illegible]

recusness, and their Deacons in Faith. This passage of Scripture which is here quoted, is in *Iſa. 60. 17.* *I will make thine Officers peace, and thine Executors righteousness.* Whether it is rightly applyed, is not my business to determine. That that I observe from hence is, that there were but two Orders instituted by the Apostles, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, which *Clement* supposes were prophetically promised long before: And this is yet more evidently asserted in another passage of the said *Clement* a little after, where he says, that the Apo-

stles foreknew through our Lord Jesus Christ, that Convention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy; and therefore being endued with a perfect foreknowledge, appointed the aforesaid Officers, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, and left the manner of their Succession described, that

Ἀποστολὴ μὲν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τὸ κυρεῖν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ ὀνομασθῆναι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκλήρωται, καὶ καθήκοντες τὰς περὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ μεταξὺ ἑαυτῶν διδάσκειν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοινωθῶν, διαδέξωσθαι ἑαυτοὺς διδασκασθῶν τε καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν, Ibidem, p. 57.

so when they died, other approved Men might succeed them, and reform their Office. So that there were only the Two Orders of Bishops and Deacons instituted by the Apostles. And if they ordained but those Two, I think no one had ever a Commission to add a Third, or to split One into Two, as must be done, if we separate the Order of Presbyters from the Order of Bishops: But that when the Apostles appointed the Order of Bishops, Presbyters were included therein, will manifestly appear from the Induction of those fore-cited Passages in

Clement's

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Athen's Epistle, and his drift and design thereby, which was to appease and calm the Schisms and Factions of some unruly Members in the Church of *Corinth*, who designed to depose their Presbyters; and that he might dissuade them from this violent and irregular Action, amongst other Arguments he proposes to them, that this was to thwart the Design and Will of God, who would that all should live orderly in their respective places, doing the Duties of their own Stations, not invading the Offices and Functions of others; and that for this end, that all occasions of disorderliness and confusion might be prevented, he had instituted Diversities of Offices in his Church, appointing every Man to his particular Work, to which he was to apply himself, without violently leaping into other Mens places; and that particularly the Apostles foreseeing through the Holy Spirit, that contentious and unruly Men would irregularly aspire to the Episcopal Office, by the Deposition of their lawful Presbyters; therefore that such turbulent Spirits might be repressed, or lest inexcusable, they ordained Bishops and Deacons where they preached, and described the manner and qualifications of their Successors, who should come after them when they were dead and gone, and be revered and obeyed with the same Respect and Obedience as they before were; and that therefore they were to be condemned as Perverters of the Divine Institution, and Contemners of the Apostolick Authority, who dared to degrade their Presbyters, who had received their Episcopal Authority in an immediate Succession from those who

who were advanced to that Dignity by the Apostles themselves.

This was the true Reason for which the fore-quoted Passages were spoken, which clearly evinces, that Presbyters were included under the Title of Bishops, or rather that they were Bishops; For to what end should *Clemens* exhort the Schismatical *Corinthians* to obey their Presbyters, from the consideration of the Apostles Ordination of Bishops, if their Presbyters had not been Bishops?

But that the Order of Presbyters was the same with the Order of Bishops, will appear also from that place of *Irenæus*, where he ex-

horts us ' to withdraw from those Presbyters, who serve their Lusts, and having not the fear of God in their hearts, contemn others and are lifted up with the Dignity of their first Session; but to adhere to those who keep the Doctrine of the Apostles, and wish their Presbyterial Order are inoffensive, and exemplary in sound Doctrine, and an holy Conversation, to the Information and Correction of others; for such Presbyters the Church educates, and of whom the Prophet saith, I will give thee Princes in Peace, and Bishops in Righteousness.

Presbyteri qui conviunt suis voluptatibus, & non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, & principalis, confessionis timore elati sunt—ab omnibus igitur talibus abstinere oportet, adhærere vero his, qui & Apostolorum sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, & cum Presbyterii Ordine Sermonem sanum, & Conversationem sine offensâ præstant ad informationem & correctionem reliquorum— Tales Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia, de quibus & Propheta ait, & dabo principes tuos in pace, & Episcopos tuos in Justitia, Lib. 4. c. 44. p. 278.

Now that by these Presbyters; Bishops are meant, I need not take much pains to prove; the precedent Chapter positively asserts it; the Description of them in this Quotation, by their enjoying the Dignity of the first Session, and the application of that Text of *Isaiah* unto them, clearly evinces it. No one can deny but that there were Bishops, that is, that they were superiour in degree to other Presbyters; or, as *Irenæus* styles it, honoured with the first Session; but yet he also says, that they were not different in Order, being of the Presbyterial Order, which includes both Bishops and Presbyters.

To this Testimony of *Irenæus* I shall subjoin that of *Clement Alexandrinus*, who tho' he

Ἐποὶ καὶ αἱ ἐπισκοπὰ καὶ
ἐκκλησίαι προσηγορίαι
ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων,
διακόνων, μνήματα ἱερῆς
ἐκκλησίας ὄντος, κακίης
ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ χαριστικῶς
ἀναμύειν φασὶν αἱ γὰρ καὶ
τὸς καὶ ἰχνησάμενοι τὸ
ἐν τελειώσει διακρί-
νωσι καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον βε-
βαιώσας, ἐν νομίμοις τε
ταῖς ῥῆσις τὰς γράμεις ὁ
ἐπισκοπῶν διακρίνωσι. καὶ
ἔρχεται, ἵνα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
γινώσκῃ τὸ πρεσβυτερίον καὶ
προσηγορίαν ὄντος ὁ
ὄντος διακρίνωσι ἄλλοις ἀν-
δρὶς τέλειον ἀνδρὶς αὐξήσου-
σιν. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 41.

mentions 'the Processes of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, from which some conclude the Bishops Superiority of Order; yet the subsequent Words evidently declare, that it must be meant only of Degree, and that as to Order they were one and the same; for he immediately adds, That these Offices are an imitation of the Angelick Glory, and of that Dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in the steps of the Apostles, live in the perfection of Evangelick Righteousness: for these, the Apostle writes,

the steps of the Apostles, live in the perfection of Evangelick Righteousness: for these, the Apostle writes,

which shall be took up into the Clouds; (Here he alludes to the manner of the Saints Glorification in 1 Thess. 4. 17. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord) and there first as Deacons attend, and then according to the Process, or next station of Glory, be admitted into the Presbytery; for Glory differs from Glory, till they increase to a perfect man. Now in this Passage there are two things which manifest, that there were but two Ecclesiastical Orders, viz. Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons; the first is, that he says, that those Orders were resembled by the Angelick Orders. Now the Scripture mentions but two Orders of Angels, viz. Archangels and Angels, the Archangels presiding over the Angels, and the Angels obeying and attending on the Archangels. According to this resemblance therefore there must be but Two Ecclesiastical Orders in the Church, which are Bishops or Presbyters presiding and governing, with the Deacons attending and obeying. The other part of this Passage, which proves but two Ecclesiastical Orders, is his likening of them to the progressive Glory of the Saints, who at the Judgment Day shall be caught up in the Clouds, and there shall first as Deacons attend and wait on Christ's Judgment-Seat, and then, when the Judgment is over, shall have their Glory perfected, in being placed on the Celestial Thrones of that Sublime Presbytery, where they shall for ever be blest and happy.

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So that there were only the two Orders of Deacons and Presbyters, the former whereof being the inferiour Order, never sat at their Ecclesiastical Conventions, but like Servants

⁊ Videt & ordinationes,
five stationes ministro-
rum ejus, Diaconorum,
ut mihi videtur, ordi-
nem memorat altarium
divino ministerio. *Ho-
mil. 2. in Cantic. Cantic.
Origen.*

4. Nobilicum sedeat in
Clero. Cyprian. Epist. 35.
p. 84.

Shop or Minister of the Parish, sat at the Head of the Semicircle, on a Seat somewhat elevated

† Collegis meis. *Epist.*
28. §. 2. p. 64.

guished from them by his Priority in the same Order, but not by his being of another Order. Thus the foresaid *Clemens Alexandrinus* distinguishes the Bishop from the Presbyters, by his being advanced to the *ἐξτετακιστος*, or the first Seat in the Presbytery, not by his sitting in a different Seat from them: For thus he writes,

6. Οὐλ- πρεσβύτερ-
 ος τῷ ὄντι ἡ ἐκκλησίαι, καὶ
 διακόν- ἀληθὲς ἡ τῆ
 οὐ- βουλῆται, ἰδὼν πᾶσι καὶ
 ἡλίουται τὸ τῷ κυρίῳ ἔχ- ὡς ἀνδράων χειροτονία-
 οὐ- ὅτι πρεσβ- τερος, δίκαιος γαρὺ βαρύν- καλ' ἔτι δὲ
 και- ὡς πρεσβύτερον καταλεγομένην, καὶ ὅτι τῶν
 γὰρ ἐπιτοκα θεοῦ καὶ μη τιμῇ, ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταπειν-
 κακοδυσταθ δεινῶς ἡ λαὸν κείνων, ὡς φησὶ ἐν τῇ Απο-
 καλύψει Ἰωάννη. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 420.

God,

of the primitive Church. 75

God; who does and teaches the things of the Lord, not ordained by Men, or esteemed just, because a Presbyter, but because just, therefore received into the Presbytery, who although he be not honoured with the first Seat on Earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the Twenty and Four Thrones, mentioned in the Revelations, judging the People. So that both Bishops and Presbyters were Members of the same Presbytery, only the Bishop was advanced to the first and chiefest Seat therein, which is the very same with what I come now from proving, viz. That Bishops and Presbyters were Equal in Order, but different in Degree; That the former were the Ministers of their respective Parishes, and the latter their Curates or Assistants.

Whether this hath been fully proved, or whether the precedent Quotations do naturally conclude the Premises, the Learned Reader will easily determine. I am not conscious that I have stretched any Words beyond their natural Signification, having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported: If I am mistaken, I hope I shall be pardoned, since I did it not designedly or voluntarily. As before, so now I profess again, that if any one shall be so kind and obliging to give me better Information, I shall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit mine Error; but till that Information be given, and the falsity of my present Opinion be evinc'd, (which after the impartiallest and narrowest Enquiry, I see not how it can be done) I hope no one will be offended, that I have asserted the Equality or Identity of the

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Bishops and Presbyters as to Order, and their Difference as to Preeminency or Degree.

§. 4. Now from this Notion of Presbyters, there evidently results the Reason why there were many of them in one Church, even for the same Intent and End, tho' more necessary and needful, that Curates are now to those Ministers and Incumbents whom they serve, it was found by Experience, that variety of Accidents and Circumstances did frequently occur both in times of Peace and Persecution; the Particulars whereof would be needless to enumerate, that disabled the Bishops from attending on, and discharging their Pastoral Office; therefore that such Vacancies might be supplied, and such Inconveniencies remedied, they entertained Presbyters or Curates, who during their Absence might supply their Places, who also were helpful to them, whilst they were present with their Flocks, to counsel and advise them; whence Bishop *Cyprian* assures us, that
Communi Consilio. E. he did all things by the
plb. 24. p. 15. Common Council of his
 Presbyters.

Besides this, in those early days of Christianity, Churches were in most places thin, and at a great distance from one another; so that if a Bishop by any Disaster was Incapacitated for the Discharge of his Function, it would be very difficult to get a neighbouring Bishop to assist him. To which we may also add, that in those times there were no publick Schools or Universities, except we say the Catechetick Lecture at *Alexandria*, was one for the breeding of young Ministers, who might succeed the Bishops as they

they died; wherefore the Bishops of every Church took care to instruct and elevate some young Men, who might be prepared to come in their place when they were dead and gone. And thus for these and the like Reasons most Churches were furnished with a competent number of Presbyters, who helpt the Bishops while living, and were fitted to succeed them when dead.

§. 5. I say only, most Churches were furnished with Presbyters, because all were not; especially those Churches which were newly planted, where either the Numbers or Abilities of the Believers were small and inconsiderable: Neither indeed were Presbyters Essential to the Constitution of a Church; a Church might be without them, as well as a Parish can be without a Curate now; it was sufficient that they had a Bishop; a Presbyter was only necessary for the easing of the Bishop in his Office, and to be qualified for the succeeding him in his Place and Dignity after his Death. For as *Tertullian* writes, *Where there are no Presbyters, the Bishop alone administers the two Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism.* *Ubi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est confessus, & offert, & tingit Sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

§. 6. As for the time when Prebyters began, to me it seems plain, that their Office was even in the Apostolick Age, tho' by their Names they were not distinguished from Bishops till sometime after. The first Author now extant, who distinctly mentions Bishops and Presbyters, is *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who lived in the

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beginning of the Second Century: But without doubt before his time, even in the days of the Apostles, where Churches increased, or were somewhat large, there were more in Holy Orders than the Bishops of those Churches. We read in the New Testament of the Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. 28. and *Philippi*, *Philip.* 1. 1. which must be understood of what was afterwards distinctly called Bishops and Presbyters. So likewise we read in *St. Timothy*, *1 Tim.* 4. 14. of a Presbytery, which in all the Writings of the Fathers, for any thing I can find to the contrary, perpetually signifies the Bishop and Presbyters of a particular Church or Parish. And to this we may add what *Clement Alexandrinus* Reports of *St. John*, that he went into the neighbouring Provinces

ἐν τοῖς ἐκείναις κα-
ταστάσας, ὥστε ὃ ἑλκεῖν
κλήσεις ἀρχιερέων, ὥστε ὃ
κλήσιν ἐκαστὴν τινὰ κληρο-
νοῦν ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος
σημαίνειτο. Apud Eu-
sch. lib. 3. cap. 23. p.
90.

of *Ephesus*, ⁹ Partly that
he might constitute Bishops;
partly that he might plant
new Churches, and partly
that he might appoint such
in the number of the Cler-
gy, as should be command-
ed him by the Holy Ghost.

Where by the Word Clergy, being oppos'd to Bishops, and so consequently different from them, must be understood either Deacons alone, or which is far more probable, Presbyters and Deacons.

§. 1. The Order and Office of the Deacons. §. 2. Subdeacons what? §. 3. Of Acolyths, Exorcists, and Lectors; thro' these Offices the Bishops gradually ascended to their Episcopal Dignity. §. 4. Of Ordination. First, of Deacons. §. 5. Next of Presbyters; the Candidates for that Office presented themselves to the Presbytery of the Parish where they were Ordained. §. 6. By them examined about Four Qualifications, viz. Their Age. §. 7. Their Condition in the World. §. 8. Their Conversation. §. 9. And their Understanding. Humane Learning needful. §. 10. Some Inveighed against Humane Learning, but condemned by Clemens Alexandrinus. §. 11. Those that were to be Ordain'd Presbyters, generally pass'd thro' the Inferiour Offices. §. 12. When to be ordained, propounded to the People for their Attestation. §. 13. Ordain'd in, but not to a particular Church. §. 14. Ordain'd by the Imposition of Hands of the Presbytery. §. 15. The Conclusion of the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.

§. 1. **N**EXT to the Presbyters were the Deacons, concerning whose Office and Order I shall say very little, since there is no great Controversie about it; and had it not been to have rendred this Discourse compleat and entire, I should in silence have pass'd it over. Briefly therefore, their original Institution, as in Acts 6. 2. was to serve Tables, which inclu-

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included these two things, A. looking after the Poor, and an attendance at the Lord's Table.

As for the Care of the Poor, *Origin* tells us,

* Διάκονοι διοικῶσι τὰ
ἐκκλησιαστικά χρήματα.
Comment. in Mat. Tom.
16. p. 443. Vol. 1.

that the *Deacons* dis-
posed to them the *Churches*
Money, being employed
under the Bishop to in-
spect and relieve all the

Indigent within their Diocese: As for their At-
tendance at the Lord's Table, their Office with
respect to that, consisted in preparing the Bread
and Wine, in cleansing the Sacramental Cups,
and other such like necessary things; whence

* Βρωμάτων ὑποτάων εἰσιν
διάκονοι. Epist. ad Tral-
lel. p. 48.

they are call'd by *Ignatius* *Deacons of Meats*
and *Cups*, assisting also, in
some places at least, the

Bishop or Presbyters in the Celebration of the
Eucharist, *delivering the*

† Διάκονοι διδόντες ἐκείνῳ
τῷ παρόντι μεταλαμβάνειν
τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἁγίας.
Apolog. 2. p. 97.

Elements to the Commu-
nants. They also preach-
ed, of which more in a-
nother place; and in the

* Baptismum dandi ha-
bet jus Episcopus dehinc
Presbyteri & Diaconi.
Tertul. de Bapt. p. 602.

Absence of the Bishop
and *Presbyters baptized*.

In a word, according to
the signification of their
Name, they were as *Ignatius*

† Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὑπηρε-
ταί. Epist. ad Trallel.
p. 48.

calls them, *the*
Churches Servants, set a-
part on purpose to serve

God, and attend on their Business, being con-
stituted, as *Eusebius* terms

† Τηροῖαι τῷ κοινῷ.
Lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 31.

it, *for the Service of the*
Publick.

§. 2. Next

§. 2. Next to the Deacons were the Subdeacons, who are mentioned both by ¹ Cyprian and ² Cornelius. As the Office of the Presbyters was to assist and help the Bishops, so theirs was to assist and help the Deacons. And as the Presbyters were of the same Order with the Bishop, so probably the Subdeacons were of the same Order with the Deacons, which may be gathered from what we may suppose to have been the Origin and Rise of these Subdeacons, which might be this, That in no Church whatsoever, was it usual to have more than Seven Deacons, because that was the original Number instituted by the Apostles; wherefore when any Church grew so great and numerous, that this stinted Number of Deacons was not sufficient to discharge their necessary Ministrations, that they might not seem to swerve from the Apostolical Example, they added Assistants to the Deacons, whom they called Subdeacons or Under Deacons, who were employed by the Head or Chief Deacons, to do those Services in their stead and room, to which, by their Office, they were obliged. But whether this be a sufficient Argument to prove Subdeacons to be of the same Order with the Deacons, I shall not determine, because this Office being now antiquated, it is not very pertinent to my Design, I only offer it to the Consideration of the Learned, who have Will and Ability to search into it.

§. 3. Besides those forementioned Orders, who were immediately consecrated to the Service of God, and by him commission'd thereunto, there were

¹ Hypodiaconum Optatum. *Epiſt.* 24. p. 55.
² *Troedioxus iſta.* Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244.

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were another sort of Ecclesiasticks, who were employed about the meaner Offices of the

* *Narium Acolithum.*

Cyprian. Epist. 36. p. 87.

* *Unus de exorcistis vir*

probatiss. *Firmel. apud*

Cyprian. Ep. 75. §. 10. p. 238.

* *Hoc lectores constitutus.*

Cyprian. Ep. 34. §. 4. p. 81.

Church, such as * *Acolyths,*

* *Exorcists,* and

* *Lectors,* whose Offices,

because they are now

disused, except that of

the Lector, I shall pass

over in silence, reserving

a Discourse of the Lector for another place; on-

ly in general, these were Candidates for the

Ministry, who by the due discharge of these

meaner Employs, were to give Proof of their

Ability and Integrity, the Bishops in those days

not usually arriving *per Saltum* to that Dignity

and Honour; but commonly beginning with

the most inferiour Office, and so gradually pro-

ceeding thro' the others, till they came to the

supreme Office of all, as *Cornelius* Bishop of

Rome, * *Did not presently*

leap into the Episcopal

Throne, but first passed

thro' all the Ecclesiastical

Offices, gradually ascend-

ing to that Sublime Digni-

ty. The Church in those

happy days, by such a

long Tryal and Experience, using all possible Pre-

caution and Exactness, that none but fit and

qualify'd Men should be admitted into those Sa-

cred Functions and Orders, which were atten-

ded with so dreadful and tremendous a Charge.

And this now brings me in the next place, to

enquire into the Manner and Form of the Primi-

tive Ordinations, which I chuse to discourse of

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In this place, since I shall find none more proper for it throughout this whole Treatise.

§. 4. As for the various Senses and Acceptations which may be put on the Word *Ordination*, I shall not at all meddle with them; that Ordination that I shall speak of is this, the Grant of a peculiar Commission and Power, which remains indelible in the Person to whom it is committed, and can never be obliterated or rased out, except the Person himself cause it by his Heresie, Apostacy, or most extreemly gross and scandalous Impiety. Now this sort of Ordination was conferred only upon Deacons and Presbyters, or on Deacons and Bishops, Presbyters and Bishops being here to be consider'd as all one, as Ministers of the Church-Universal. As for the Ordination of Deacons, there is no great Dispute about that, so I shall say no more concerning it, than that we have the manner thereof at their first Institution in *Acts 6. 6.* which was, that they were Ordained to their Office by Prayer and Imposition of Hands.

§. 5. But as for the Ordination of Presbyters, I shall more distinctly and largely treat of the Manner and Form thereof, which seems to be as follows.

Whosoever desired to be admitted into this Sacred Office, he first propos'd himself to the Presbytery of the Parish where he dwelled and was to be Ordained, desiring their Consent to his designed Intention, praying them to confer upon him those Holy Orders which he craved. Now we may suppose his Petition was to the whole Presbytery, because a Bishop alone could not give those Holy Orders, as is most evident from

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* Communi Consilio omnium nostrum. *Epist.* 24. p. 55.

Counsel of the whole Presbytery.

† Necessè fuit— necessitate urgente promotum est. *Ibidem.*

without the Advice and Consent of his Presbytery, which one will be apt to think was no great Usurpation, he takes great pains (*Ep.* 24. p. 55.) to justify and excuse himself for so doing.

§. 6. Upon this Application of the Candidate for the Ministry, the Presbytery took it into their Consideration, debated his Petition

* Communi Consilio. *Epist.* 24. apud *Cypr.* p. 55.

Qualifications which were requisite for that Sacred Office. What those Gifts and Qualifications were, touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these Four Heads, his Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation, and his Understanding.

As for his Age; It was necessary for him to have lived some time in the World, to have been of a ripe and mature Age; for they ordained no Novices, or young Strplings: That was the Practice of the Hereticks, whom *Tertullian* jeers and upbraids with Ordaining

† Nunc Neophytos conlocant. *De prescript. adv. Hæres.* p. 89.

from *Cyprian*, who assures us, that 'all Clerical Ordinations were performed by the Common Counsel of the whole Presbytery. And therefore when upon a ' most urgent and necessary occasion he had been forced to ordain one, but a Lector

without the Advice and Consent of his Presbytery, which one will be apt to think was no great Usurpation, he takes great pains (*Ep.* 24. p. 55.) to justify and excuse himself for so doing.

§. 6. Upon this Application of the Candidate for the Ministry, the Presbytery took it into their Consideration, debated his Petition

* in their Common Council, and proceeded to examine whether he had those Endowments and

Qualifications which were requisite for that Sacred Office. What those Gifts and Qualifications were, touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these Four Heads, his Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation, and his Understanding.

As for his Age; It was necessary for him to have lived some time in the World, to have been of a ripe and mature Age; for they ordained no Novices, or young Strplings: That was the Practice of the Hereticks, whom *Tertullian* jeers and upbraids with Ordaining

† Raw and Unexperienced Clerks. But as for the Orthodox, they took care

to

to confer Orders on none, but on such as were well stricken in years; observing herein the Apostolick Canon in 1 Tim. 3. 6. *Not a Novice, lest being lifted up with Pride, he fall into the Condemnation of the Devil.* But yet if any young Man was endued with extraordinary Grace and Ability, the fewness of his Years was no Obstacle to his Promotion, that being superseded by the Greatness of his Merit; as we find in the case of *Aurelius* in *Cyprian*, who tho' *young in years*, yet for his eminent Courage and *Excellency*, was graced with Ecclesiastical Orders: And such an one, I suppose, was the Bishop of *Magnesia* in the times of *Ignatius*, which gave occasion to that Exhortation, to the People of that Diocese, *not to despise their Bishop's Age, but to yield him all due Respect and Reverence.*

§. 7. As for his Condition in the World; he was not to be entangled with any mundane Affairs, but to be free from all secular Employments, and at perfect Liberty to apply himself wholly to the Duties of his Office and Function. This also was founded on that other Apostolick Canon in 2 Tim. 2. 4.

No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who

In annis adhuc novellus. Cypr. Epist. 33. p. 78.

Meretur — Clericæ Ordinationis — gradus & incrementa — non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. Ibidem.

Μὴ συγχέειν τὴν ἡλικίαν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. ἀλλὰ — πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ συνίμεν. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 31.

Nemo militans Deo obligat se molestius secularibus, ut possit placere ei cui se probavit. Quod cum de omnibus habet

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dictum sit, quanto magis molestiis & laqueis Sæcularibus obligari non debent, qui divinis rebus & spiritualibus occupati, ab Ecclesia recedere, & ad terrenos & sæculares actus vacare non possunt, cujus ordinationis & religionis formam Levitæ prius in lege tenuerunt, ut cum terram dividerent, & possessiones partirentur undecem Tribus, Levitica Tribus, quæ Templo & Altari, & Ministeriis Divinis vacabat, nihil de illa divisionis portione perciperet, sed aliis terram colentibus, illa tantum Deum coleret, & ad victum atque alimentum suum ab undecem Tribubus de fructibus qui nascebantur, decimas reciperet. Quod totum fiebat de auctoritate & dispositione divina, ut qui operationibus divinis insistebant, in nullâ re avocarentur, nec cogitare aut agere sæcularia cogerentur. Quæ nunc ratio & forma in Clero tenetur, ut qui in Ecclesia Domini Ordinatione Clerica promoventur, in nullo ab administratione Divina avocentur, nec molestiis & negotiis sæcularibus alligentur, sed in honore

hath chosen him to be a Soldier. Which Words, saith Cyprian, if spoken of all, How much more ought not they to be entangled with Secular Troubles and Snares, who being busied in Divine and Spiritual things, cannot leave the Church, to mind earthly and worldly actions? Which Religious Ordination, as he goes on to write, was emblematic'd by the Levites under the Law; for when the Land was divided, and possessions were given to eleven Tribes, the Levites who waited upon the Temple and Altar, and the Sacred Offices thereof, had no share in that Division; but the others till'd the ground, whilst they only worshipped God, and received Tenths of the others Encrease for their Food and Sustenance; all which hapned by the Divine Authority and Dispensation, that they who waited on Divine Employments, should not be withdrawn therefrom, or be forced either to think of,

of, or to do any Secular Affairs: Which fashion, as he there continues to write, is now observed by the Clergy, that those who are promoted to Clerical Ordinations, should not be impeded in their Divine

Administrations, or incumbered with secular Concerns and Affairs, but as Tenths, receiving Subscriptions from the Brethren, depart not from the Altar and Sacrifices, but night and day attend on Spiritual and Heavenly Administrations. These words were spoken on the occasion of a certain Bishop called *Germinius Victor*, who at his

Death made a certain Presbyter, called *Germinius Faustinus* Trustee of his last Will and Testament; which Trust *Cyprian* condemns as void and null,³ Because a Syn-

nod had before decreed, that no Clergyman should be a Trustee, for this Reason, because those who were in Holy Orders ought only to attend upon the Altar and its Sacrifices, and to give themselves wholly to Prayer and Supplication. It was a Blot in the Hereticks Ordinations, that they Ordained such as were involved in the World, and embarrass'd with Carnal and Secular Concerns.

SPORTULANTIUM FRATRUM tanquam Decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab Altari & Sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte Cœlestibus rebus & Spiritualibus ferviant. *Epist.* 66. §. 1, 2. p. 195.

³ Cum jampridem in Consilio Episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis & Dei Ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamenti suo constitueret, quando singuli Divino Sacerdotio honorati, & in Clerico Ministerio constituti, non nisi Altari, & Sacrificiis deleviti, & precibus, atque orationibus vacare debeant. *Idem Ibidem.*

⁴ Nunc Saculo obstrictos concolant. *Tertul. de Prescript.* adv. Hæret. p. 89.

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§. 8. As for the Conversation of the Party

¹ *Humiles & mites. Cyprian Epist. 38. §. 1. p. 90.*

⁶ *In Ordinationibus Sacerdotum non nisi immaculatos & integros antistites eligere debemus, qui sancte & digne Sacrificia Deo offerentes, audiri in precibus possunt, quas faciunt pro Plebis Dominicæ incolumitate, cum scriptum sit, Deus peccatorem non audit, sed si quis Deum coluerit, & voluntatem ejus fecerit, illum audit. Epist. 68. §. 2. p. 201.*

to be Ordained, he was to be ¹ *humble and meek,* of an unspotted and exemplary Life. So says Cyprian, ⁶ *In all Ordinations we ought to choose Men of an unspotted Integrity, who worthily and holily offering up Sacrifices to God, may be heard in those Prayers which they make for the safety of their Flock: For it is written, God heareth not a Sinner; but if any one be a Worshipper of him, and doth his Will, him he hear-*

eth. Wherefore before they were Ordained, they were proposed to the People for their Testimony and Attestation of their holy Life and Conversation: But of this we shall speak more in another place: Only it may not be improper to remember here, that this is also an Apostolick Canon, in *1 Tim. 3. 2, 3, 7.* *A Bishop then must be Blameless, the Husband of one Wife, vigilant, sober, of good Behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to Wine, no Striker, not guilty of filthy Lustre, but Patient, not a Brawler, not Covetous. Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into Reproach, and the snare of the Devil.*

§. 9. As for the understanding of the Person to be Ordained, he was to be of a good Capacity, fit and able duly to teach others. This is also

mentaries, ⁷ How is it possible, saith he, that a Question either in Ethics, Physicks, or Divinity, should be understood, as it ought, without Logick? You shall hear no Absurdity from those who are skill'd in Logick, and diligently search out the signification of words; whereas many times, thro' our ignorance in Logick, we greatly err, not distinguishing Homonymies, Amphibolies, the different Uses, Properties and Distinctions of Words, as some from the Ignorance of the Homonymy of the word

[illegible]

Clemens Alexandrinus also stily asserts the Utility of Humane Learning, where he says, 1. That it is profitable to Christianity for the clear and distinct Demonstrations of its Doctrine, 2. in that it helps us to the more evident understanding of the Truth. And in particular for Logick, he gives it high Encomiums, as that 3. it is a hedge to defend the Truth from being trod down by Sophisters, that 4. it gives us great light duly to understand the Holy Scriptures, that 5. it is necessary to confute the Sophisms of Hereticks. And in general, for all sorts of Learning he tells us, 6. that it keeps the way of Life, that we be not deceived or circumvented; by those that endeavour to draw us into the way of sin. So that he thinks Philosophy and the Liberal Arts 6. came down from Heaven unto Men. But should I produce all the Passages in this Father, concerning the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, I must transcribe several Pages in Folio, which if the Reader has a Curiosity to view, he may especially

1. Φιλοσοφία χρησίμη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν γίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτὴν δόξα τίς ἔσται τοῖς τῷ λόγῳ πιστοῖς καὶ ἀποδείξουσιν κατὰ τοὺς στοιμ. lib. 1. p. 207.

2. Φιλοσοφία πρὸς κατὰ λόγον τὴν ἀληθείαν. Ibidem, p. 233.

3. Θεολογία δὲ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλιστικὴ ὡς μὴ καὶ ἀπαρτίσθαι πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀληθινῶν. Stomat. lib. 6. p. 472.

4. Ταῖς γενομέναις αὐταῖς μέγα ὥς ἐστὶν αὐταῖς ψυχῇς. Ibidem.

5. Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συντελεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποπίπτειν ταῖς κατὰ τρεχούσας αἵρεσιν. Stomat. lib. 1. p. 234.

6. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴς εὐλαδῶσαι παιδεία ὡς μὴ ἀπατηθῆναι ὡς μὴ κλεπθῆναι πρὸς τὴν βλάβην τῶν ἀκροαμένων καὶ ἀσχετίαν ποιεῖται. Ibid. p. 210.

7. Θεοδὸν ἵκων οἱ ἀνδρῶν πρὸς. Stomat. lib. 1. p. 210.

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cially take notice of these Places, *Stromat. lib. 1. Pag. 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215. and Stromat. lib. 6. Pag. 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477.*

§. 10. It is true, there were some in those days, of whom *Clement Alexandrinus* com-

plaints, 'who dreaded Philosophy, lest it should deceive them, as much as Children did Hobboblins. Because they saw by too lamentable experience, that many Learned Mens

Brains were so charmed, or intoxicated with Philosophical Notions, as that they laboured to transform them into Christian Verities, and so thereby became Authors of most pestilent and damnable Heresies, which is particularly observed by *Tertullian*, with respect to the Hereticks

▪ *Hæreticorum Patriarchæ Philosophi. Advers. Hermog. p. 266.*

• 'Οι ὅτι καὶ ἂν τινὲς φιλοσοφίαν εἰς δόξαν τῆς βίης νομιζοῦσιν ἐπὶ λυμὴν τῆς ἀνθρώπων ψυχῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιοῦν. *Clement Alexand. Strom. l. 4. p. 204.*

of his time, who in this account calls *the Philosophers, the Patriarchs, of Hereticks.* Therefore they accused Philosophy it self, as *the Production of some evil Inventor, introduced into the World for the ruin and destruction of Mankind.* Even *Tertullian* himself, for this reason had

an extream Pique against Philosophy, and violently decry'd it, especially Logick, as inconsistent with true Christianity, as may be seen at large

large in his Book, *De Prescriptione adversus Hereticos*, p. 70, 71.

But to this Objection *Clemens Alexandrinus* replies, that if any Man had been deceived and misled by Philosophy,

that that proceeded not from Philosophy, but from the wickedness of his Nature; for whosoever has Wisdom enough to use it, he is able thereby to make a larger and a more demonstrative Defence of the Faith than others.

And concerning Logick in particular, he tells them, that as for Eristick, jangling Logick, for impertinent and contentious Sophisms, which he elegently calls *ταὶ σκῆλαι αἰσῶν* ² the Shadows of Reason; he disliked it as

much as they, and frequently ³ inveighs against it: But as for the solid substantial part of it, he could not but deem it profitable and ad-

vantageous, since ⁴ it helps us to find out the Truth, enables us the better to understand the Scriptures, and ⁵ shews us how to refel the Sophisms and cunning arguments of the Hereticks.

⁶ *ὅτι καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀρίστην.* *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 234.*

¹ *Μήτε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὸν μαίνεσθαι ἢ βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐκ φύσεως ἔργον διέκρινεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεονεξίας πλεονεξίας χραιμάς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ φύσεως ἐκπαιδεύει.* *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 204.*

² *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 500.*

³ *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 205, 211, 212, 215. and lib. 6. p. 472. 500.*

⁴ *Συλλαμβάνεσθαι φιλοσοφία τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀρίστην.* *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 233.*

⁵ *Ταῖς γεγραφαῖς ἀνταῖς μέγα φάσιν ἐνδείξει ἢ τοῦ χαίει.* *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 472.*

⁶ *ὅτι καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀρίστην.* *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 234.*

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But besides this sort of Objectors, there were others, of whom *Clement Alexandrinus* speaks, who condemned Learning on this account, be-

cause it was ¹ humane, unto whom that Father answers, that ² was most unreasonable, that Philosophy only should be condemned on this account, and that the meanest Arts

besides, even those of a Smith and Shipwright, which are as much Humane, should be commended and approved; that ³ they

did not rest here and go no farther, but having got what was useful and profitable from it, they ascended higher unto the true Philosophy, ⁴ making this humane Philosophy a Guide unto, or, a Preparatory for the true Philosophy.

These were the Sentiments of this Learned Father touching the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, with respect to the Interpretation of Scripture, the finding out and defending of the true Faith and Doctrine, and such like things, which were the very Heart and Soul of the Presbyters Function and Employ; from whence we may rationally collect, that it was needful, amiable, and profitable in a Presbyter: I do not say that it was absolutely necessary, for it is apparent that a great part of the ancient Presbyters were not skill'd in it; but I say that it was very useful and

and advantageous, and they prized and esteem-
ed those Presbyters, who were vers'd in it, es-
pecially those of them who were Arch-Presby-
ters or Bishops, who, if possible, were to be
well read in those parts of Learning, which were
proper to confirm the Articles of Christianity,
and to confute the Enemies thereof. This is
plainly insinuated by *Origen*, when he says,

² *That the Holy Scripture*

exhort us to learn Logick, in that place, where it is said by Solomon, He that refuseth reproof, or Logick, as he understandeth it, erreth; and that therefore he that instructeth others, (the Greek

² Περὶ τοῦ καὶ οὗ διὰ τὸ λόγον ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ διαλεξι-
κὴν, ὅπου μὲν Σολομῶνι
λέγει· παιδεία καὶ ἀν-
τίλογος — ὅτι οὗτο
περίτρετον τὰ λόγον δι-
δάσκει εἶναι τὸ ἀντιλέγον
ταὶ ἐλέγχων. *Contra*
Cellsum, lib. 6. p. 279.

Word more particularly denotes the Bishop) ought to be able to convince Gain-sayers.

§. 11. Upon this Examination of the Candi-
dates for the Ministry; and their Approbation
by the Presbytery, the next thing that follow'd
was their being declared capable of their desired
Function, to which they were very seldom pre-
sently advanced, but first gave a Specimen of
their Abilities in their discharge of other inferi-
our Ecclesiastick Offices, and so proceeded by
degrees to the Supreme Function of all, as *Cor-
nelius* Bishop of *Rome*,

³ *did not presently leap in-
to his Office, but passing
thro' all the Ecclesiastical
Employments, gradually as-
cended thereunto. And as
Aurelius, a Member of*

³ Non iste ad Episcopatu-
m subito pervenit, per
omnia ecclesiastica offi-
cia promotus — ad Sacer-
dotii sublime fastigium
cunctis religionis gradi-
bus ascendit. *Cypr. Epist.*
92. §. 4. p. 115.

the

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* Merebatur talis Cleri-
ca Ordinationis ulterio-
res gradus & incrementa
majora, sed interim pla-
cuit ut ab Officio lectio-
nis incipiat. *Idem Epist.*
§ 3. p. 77.

the Church of Carthage,
began first with the low-
ermost Office of a Lector,
tho' by his extraordinary
Merits he deserved those
that were more sublime
and honourable.

§. 12. That this was their constant and unal-
terable Practice, I dare not affirm; I rather
think the contrary, as I might easily prove, were
it pertinent to my Design; this that follows is
more certain, that whether they were gradually
or presently Ordained Presbyters, their Names
were published or propounded to the People of
that Church, where they were to be Ordained,
that so, if worthy of that Office, they might
have the Testimony and Attestation of the Peo-
ple; or if unworthy and unfit, they might be
debarred and excluded

Ordinationes Sacerdo-
tales non nisi sub Populi
assistentis conscientia fi-
eri oportere, ut plebe
præsentē vel detegantur
malorum crimina, vel
honorum merita prædi-
centur, & sit ordinatio
justa & legitima, quæ
omnium suffragio & ju-
dicio fuerit examinata.
Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 4.
p. 201.

from it, by which course
the Crimes of the Wicked
were discovered, the Ver-
tues of the Good declared,
and the Ordination became
Valid and Legitimate, be-
ing examin'd by the Suf-
frage and Judgment of
all.

§. 13. If the People
objected nothing against
the Persons proposed, but approved their fit-
ness for that Office; the next thing that follow-
ed, was their Actual Ordination in that parti-
cular Church, where they were so propounded,
not

not that they were only ordain'd for that particular Church, but in it they were ordained Ministers of the Church Universal, being at liberty, either to serve that Church, where they received their Orders, or, if they had a Legal Call, to spend their Labours elsewhere, in other Churches, as *Origen* was a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, tho' he was ⁶ Ordained in *Palestina*, by the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*, and ⁷ *Numidicus* was a Presbyter of the Church of *Carthage*, tho' he received his Orders elsewhere. Hence the Presbyters of a Church were not confined to a set number, as the Bishop and Deacons were, but were sometimes more, sometimes less; as fit Persons for that Office presented themselves, so were they Ordained, some of whom still remained in the same Church, where they received their Orders; and others went and served other Churches, every one going where the Providence of God did call him.

§. 14. But now their formal Ordination was by Imposition of Hands, usually of the Bishop and Presbyters of the Parish where they were Ordained: For this there needs no other Proof than that Injunction of *St. Paul* to *Timothy*, 1. Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*

As

⁶ Καταγομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας. *Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.*

⁷ Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthagenensium numero. *Cyprian. Epist. 35. p. 84.*

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As for Imposition of hands, it was a Ceremony that was variously used in the Old Testament, from whence it was translated into the New, and in the Primitive Church used on sundry occasions, to no purpose here to enumerate: One of those Actions was, Ordination of Church-Officers, wherein, I think, it was never omitted. Thus *Novatian* was Ordained a Pres-

* Επιστάμεν τὸ προσβυτε-
ρεῖα καὶ χεῖρας τῷ ὁμινοῦντι
τῷ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χεῖρας
αὐτοῦ προσβυτερεῖα καὶ χεῖρας.
Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 43. p. 245.

6. χεῖρας αὐτοῦ προσβυτερεῖον
αὐτοῦ τεθεῖκασι. Apud
Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.

byter^s by Imposition of Hands. And the Bishops of Cesarea and Jerusalem. ⁹ Imposed Hands on Origen to make him a Presbyter. The Imposition of Hands being the Completion of Ordination, or the Final Act thereof;

for whosoever had past through the forementioned Examination and Attestation, and consequently to that had received the laying on of Hands, he was esteemed by all, as legally Ordained, and was ever after deemed to have sufficient Power and Authority to exert and discharge the Duty and Office of the Presbytership, to which by those Actions he was advanced and promoted.

§. 15. Here now I shall conclude what I designed to write, with respect to the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, under which I have discoursed distinctly of the Office, and Order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as also of several other things relating to their Charge and Dignity. As for those other Acts of theirs, which remain to be inquired

red into, I shall not meddle with them here ; for tho' they may have some Rapport or Connexion to this Head, yet they more properly and immediately respect the third, unto which place therefore I shall refer their Discussion and Examination.

C H A P. VI.

- §. 1. *The Peculiar Acts of the Laity proposed to be discoursed of. What were the Qualifications of Church-Membership.* §. 2. *The People, in some Cases, had Power to depose their Bishops.* §. 3. *The Conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity proposed to be discoursed of. All Ecclesiastical Affairs were managed by their joint Endeavours.*

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapters treated of the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, I come now in this to speak something to the Peculiar Acts of the Laity, and to enquire into those Actions and Powers, which they exerted distinctly by themselves. And here it may not be amiss first of all to make an Enquiry into the Constitution of the Laity, that is, how and by what means they were first admitted to be Members of a Church, by Vertue of which Membership they were made Partakers of all those Powers, which we shall hereafter mention.

Now

Now for Answer hereunto, in general,
 * Per Baptisma Spiritus sanctus accipitur, & sic a baptizatis & Spiritum sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem Domini pervenitur. *Cyprian. Ep. 63. S. 5. P. 125.*

all those that were baptized, were look'd upon as Members of the Church, and had a right to all the Privileges thereof; except they had been guilty of gross and scandalous Sins, as Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, and such like; for then they were cast out of the Church, and not admitted again, till by a Penitent and holy Deportment they had testified their Grief and Sorrow for their unholily and irregular Actions; for as Origen saith,

* Ημεῖς δὲ οὐ δύναμεν πάντα προσέσθαι καὶ ὅσους ἀνδρῶν μετέσθαι ἢ ἄλλοθεν ἡμῶν. *Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 143.*

* Οὕτως ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐρχομένη ἐμὴ ἀεὶ τις σπανίως λανθάνει ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑποσχεσθὶ τοῦτο. *Origen contra Celsum, lib. 4. p. 198.*

We do our utmost, that our Assemblies be composed of good and wise Men. So that none who are admitted to our Congregations, and Prayers, are vitious and wicked, except very rarely it may happen, that a particular bad Man may be concealed in so great a number.

But since the greatest part of Christians were adult Persons at their Conversion to Christianity, and admission into Church-Fellowship and Society, therefore we must consider the Prerequisites of Baptism, since that Sacrament gave them a Right and Title to that admission or reception.

Now those Persons who delighted to leave Heathenism and Idolatry, and desired to be Members of a Christian Church, were not presently

sently advanced to that degree, but were first continued a certain space of Time in the rank of the Catechumens, or the Catechised ones: These were Candidates of Christianity, who were to stay some time in that Order for these two Reasons: The one was, That they might be catechised and instructed in the Articles of the Christian Faith, from whence they were called *Catechumens*: And the other was,
 * that they might give demonstrations of the reality of their Intentions, by the Change of their Lives, and the Holiness of their Conversations.

* Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 πρὶν τὸ ποιῆσαι τὴν
 βίαν. Idem Ibidem, p.
 142.

Whilst they were in this Estate, or rather in a Preparatory thereunto,
 † they were first privately instructed at home, till they understood the more Intelligible Principles of Christianity, and then they were admitted into the first Rank of Catechumens, who are called by Tertullian
 ‡ *Edocti*, or, those that are taught. These were permitted † to come into the Church where they stood in a place by themselves, ‡ and were present at the Sermons, which were adapted to their Capacities, being Discourses of the Ordinary and less mysterious Truths of the Gospel. If they behaved

‡ Καὶ ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν ἑα-
 νάσθαι. Idem Ibidem,
 p. 142.

‡ De Prescript. adv. Ha-
 ret. p. 89.

† Τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκκλησί-
 ας, ἵνα μὴ συνήκοντες
 τὰς μαζὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
 ὡς ἰσχυροῦσιν. Origen
 contra. Cellum, lib. 3.
 p. 142.

‡ Πραγματοποιῖαν τὰ βα-
 ρύνοντα τὰς συνειδήσεις
 ὡς δοκίμιον λόγων ἀπο-
 κρίναι ὁρμητικῶν γὰρ αὐ-
 τῶν. Idem Ibidem, p. 143.

them-

themselves well in this Rank, then they were advanced to the ^{Superior} Rank of the ^{Perfects}, or, ^{as Tertullian calls} them, who stayed not only at the Lessons and Sermons, but also at the Prayers, which were the conclusion of the first Service, and in a little time were baptized, and tarried with the Faithful at the Celebration of the Eucharist, or the Second Service.

This was the manner of Admission amongst the Ancients; none in those days were hastily advanced to the higher Forms of Christianity, but according to their Knowledge and Merit gradually arrived thereunto, being first instructed at home, then admitted to the Didactick part of the Publick, and then to the Supplicative part thereof. It was the wicked Policy of

* Quis Catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est; pariter audiunt, pariter orant. Tert. de Praescript. advers. Hares. p. 88.

the Hereticks ^{Indifferently to pray and hear with all, making no difference between the Faithful or the Catechumens:} But the True Church distin-

guished and permitted not the Catechumens to enjoy the Priviledges of the Faithful, till they had in a Sense merited them, which was, when thro' a considerable time of Trial they had evidenced the sincerity of their Hearts, by the Sanctity and Purity of their Lives, and then,

as Origen saith, ^{we initiate them in our Myste-}
 * Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς ἐντολὰς. Contra Celsum lib. 2. p. 174.

ries; when they have made a Proficiency in Holiness; and according to the utmost of their power, have reformed their Conversations. When they had changed their Manners, and rectified their Irregular Carriages; then they were washed with the Water of Baptism, and not before; for as *Tertullian* saith,

We are not baptized, that we may cease to sin, but because we have already ceased.

Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desinivimus. De Penitentia, p. 379.

As soon as they were Baptized they commenced Members of the Church Universal, and of that particular Church, wherein they were so baptized, and became actual Sharers and Exerters of all the Privileges and Powers of the Faithful.

§. 2. Now what the distinct and separate Powers of the Faithful were, must be next considered; several of them, to make the Discourse under the former Head complete, we touched there, as their Election and choice of their Bishops, their Attestation to those that were Ordained, and such like, which will be unnecessary and tedious to repeat here; and others of them cannot be well separated from their Con-junct Acts with the Clergy, but must with them be discoursed of in the next Head, so that there will be little or nothing to say here of their Discretive and particular Acts, save, that as they had Power to elect their Bishops, so if their Bishops proved afterwards scandalous and grossly wicked in Life, or at least Heretical in Doctrine; and Apostates from the Faith, they had Power to depose them, and to chuse others

in their rooms. This I must be forced also to mention in another place, so that for the Proof of it I shall urge only the Case of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for Apostacy and Idolatry, were deserted by their Parishes, who Elected *Felix* and *Sabinus* Bishops in their steads. After this Deposition *Martialis* and *Basilides* claim'd the Exercise of their Episcopal Authority, but their Parishes denied it to them; and that they might not seem to act by a Power, which belonged not unto them, they sent to several Bishops in *Africa*, to know their Judgment thereupon, who being convened in a Synod *Anno* 258, whereof *Cyprian* was President, approved and commended their Proceed-

Desiderio vestro divina precepta respondent quibus jampridem mandantur voce celesti, & Dei lege præscribitur, quos & quales oporteat deservire altari. in Levitico præcipit Dominus & dicit. Homo, in quo fuerit macula & vitium non accedet offerre dona. Deo. nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum Sacerdos peccatore communicans. — Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis dominicis, & Deum metuens, a peccatore preposito separare se debet, nec se ad Sacrilegi Sacerdotis Sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos reiciendi.

Epist. 68. apud Cyprian. §. 1, 3, 4. p. 200, 201.

ings, assuring them, That it was according to the Divine Law, which was express, that none but those that were holy and blameless should approach God's Altar; That if they had continued to have communicated with their Profane Bishops, they would have been Accessaries to their Guilt and Villany, and would have contradicted those Examples and Commands in Scripture, which

oblige

oblige a People to separate from their wicked and ungodly Ministers; That they had not acted irregularly in what they had done; since as the People had the chief Power of choosing worthy Bishops, so also of refusing those that were unworthy: And many other such like Passages are to be found in that Synodical Epistle, which flatly assert the Peoples Power to depose a wicked and Scandalous Bishop.

But however, tho' the People had such a Power appertaining to them, yet being subject to be guided by Giddinels, Envy or Pride, where Churches were regularly associated, and their Circumstances did permit it, they did not by vertue of their power alone, upon their own single Judgment depose their Bishop; but that their Actions might be the more Authentick and Unquestionable, they had their Complaints heard, and the whole Affair examined by the Synod to which they belonged, or by some other Bishops, who, if their Accusations were just and valid, might concur with them in the Deposition of their Bishop, and in the Election of a new one: And from hence it is, that we find the Power of Deposing Bishops ascribed to Synods,

as *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*, was deprived by a Synod held in that place, and *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambese* was deposed by a Synod of ninety Bishops.

The same Method being observed in the Deposition of a Bishop, as in his Election. As a Bishop was elected by the

Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 282,

Nonaginta Episcopo- rum sententia condemnatum Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 11. p. 123.

People; over whom he was to preside, and by the neighbouring Bishops, so was he deposed by the same; both which things seem to be intimated in that Passage of the forementioned

Synodical Epistle, where-
 * Quando ipsa maxime habear potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. *Apud Cyr. Epist.* 68. §. 4. p. 291.
 in it is said, * *That the People chiefly has Power, either to chuse worthy Bishops, or to refuse unworthy ones.* The word

chiefly implying, that besides the People, some others were necessary to concur with them either in the Election or Deprivation of a Bishop; and those were the neighbouring Bishops, or to speak more properly, that Synod to which they appertained; of which Synods, of their Power and Authority, I shall discourse more largely elsewhere.

§. 3. Having thus briefly dispatched the Second Head, I now proceed to handle the Third, which respects the Conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity: In answer whereunto, I find, that, in general, all things relating to the Government and Policy of the Church, were performed by their joint Consent and Admini-

strations, * *the People were to do nothing without the Bishop: And on contrary, * he did nothing*

* *Ἄνευ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐργαζομεν ὑμᾶς, Ignat. Epist. ad Tralleis. p. 47:*

* *A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consensu plebis meae privata sententia gerere. Cyprian. Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.*

* *Plebi legere et semper litteras nostras. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 21. p. 144.*

without the knowledge and consent of his People.

* *When any Letters came from Foreign Churches, they were received, and read before the whole Church,*

Church, and ³ the whole Church agreed upon common Letters to be sent to other Churches. And so for all other matters relating to the Policy of the Church, they were managed ⁴ by the common advice and Counsel of the Clergy and Laity, both concurred to the Discharge of those Actions, to recite every particular Act whereof would be extreamly tedious and fruitless. Wherefore in speaking hereunto, I shall confine my self to those of their Complex Acts, that regarded the Discipline of the Church, which being an Answer to the Second Part of our Enquiry, viz. An Enquiry into the Discipline of the Primitive Church, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

³ Vicarias vero pro nobis, ego, & Collegæ & Fraternitas omnis, has ad vos literas mittimus
Idem, Ep. 58. §. 2 p. 163.

⁴ In commune tractabimus. *Cyprian. Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.*

CH A P. VII.

§. 1. The Necessity, Quality, and Excellency of Discipline. Six things propounded to be handled. 1. For what Faults Offenders were censured. 2. Who were the Judges that censured. 3. The manner of their Censures. 4. What their Censures were. 5. The Course that Offenders took to be absolved. 6. The manner of their Absolution. §. 2. Censures were inflicted for all sorts of Crimes, especially for Idolatry. §. 3. The whole Church were the Judges that composed the Ecclesiastical Consistory. The Executive

executive Power lodged in the Clergy, and Legislative both in Clergy and Laity. In difficult Points some neighbouring Bishops assisted at the Decision of them. §. 4. The manner of their Censures. §. 5. Their Censures consisted in Excommunications, and Suspensions of the dreadfulness thereof. §. 6. The Course that Offenders took to be absolved. They first lay grovelling and weeping at the Church Door. §. 7. Then admitted into the Rank of the Penitents. Their Behaviour during their time of Penance. §. 8. How long their Penance was. In some Cases the fixed Period anticipated; when ended, the Penitents were examined by the Court, and if approved, then Absolved. §. 9. The manner of their Absolution. They came into the Church with all Expressions of Sorrow, publicly confessed the Sin for which they had been censured. The Church was tenderly affected with their Confession. §. 10. After Confession they were absolved by the Clergy. Imposition of Hands. §. 11. Then admitted to the Churches Peace. The Clergy generally restored only to Lay Communion.

§. 1. **A** S all Governments are necessitated to make use of Laws, and other Political Means, to preserve their Constitution. So the Church of Christ, which has a certain Government annexed to it, that it may preserve its self from Ruine and Confusion, has certain Laws and Orders for the due Regulation of her Members, and Penalties annexed to the Breaches thereof. But herein lies the difference between the one and the other. The Penalties and Executions

cutions of the former, are like its Constitution, purely Humane and Carnal; but those of the other are Spiritual; as Religion was at first received by Spiritual and Voluntary, and not by Carnal and Involuntary means: for as *Tertullian* says, 'It is not Religion, to force a Religion, which ought to be willingly, not forcibly received. So by the same means it was

Nec Religionis est cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. *Ad Scapulum*, p. 447.

continued, and the Penalties of the Breach of it were of the same Nature also. The Churches Arms were Spiritual, consisting of Admonitions, Excommunications, Suspensions, and such like, by the wielding of which she Governed her Members, and preserved her own Peace and Purity. Now this is that which is called Discipline, which is absolutely necessary to the Unity, Peace, and being of the Church; for where there is no Law, Government or Order, that Society cannot possibly subsist, but must sink in its own Ruins and Confusions.

To recite the numerous Encomiums of Discipline that are interspers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, would be an endless Task: Let this one suffice out of *Cyprian*,

Discipline, says he, is the Keeper of Hope, the Stay of Faith, the Captain of Salvation, the Jewel and Nutriment of a good Disposition, the Mistress of Vertue, that makes us perpetually abide in Christ, and live to God,

Disciplina custos spei retinaculum fidei, Dux itineris salutaris, fomes ac nutrimentum bonæ indolis, magistra virtutis, facit in Christo manere semper ac jugiter Deo vivere, & ad promissa cœlestia & divina pœnia pervenire. Hanc sectari salubre est, &

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aversari ac negligere letale. In Psalmis loquitur Spiritus Sanctus: **Contineo. Disciplinam, ne forte irascatur Dominus, & pereatis a via recta, cum exarserit ira eius super vos. Et iterum; peccatori autem dixit Deus, ad quid expolis justificationes meas, & assumas testamentum meum per os tuum? Tu autem odisti Disciplinam, & abiecasti Sermones meos retro. Et deinde legimus; Disciplinam quia abjicit, infelix est. Et de Salomone mandata Sapientiae monentis accipimus: Fili ne neglexeris disciplinam Domini, nec defeceris ab eo correptus. Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit. Si autem Deus quem diligit, corripit, & ad hoc corripit, ut emendet, fratres quoque & maxime Sacerdotes, non oderunt; sed diligunt eos quos corripunt ut emendent; quando & Deus per Hieremiam ante prae-dixerit, & tempora nostra significaverit, dicens; & dabo vobis pastores secundum cor meum, & pascunt vos, pascentes cum Disciplina. De Disciplina & Habitu Virginitatis, S. i. p. 265, 266.**

and tend towards the Heavenly and Divine Promises. This to follow is saving, but to despise and neglect is deadly. The Holy Ghost speaks in Psal. 2. 12. Keep Discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when his wrath is kindled but a little against you. And again, in Psal. 50. 16. But unto the Sinner God said, What hast thou to do to declare my Law, and to take my Judgments into thy Mouth? Thou hatest Discipline, and castest my Words behind thee. And again we read in Wisdom 3. 11. He that casteth off Discipline is unhappy. And by Solomon we have received this command from Wisdom, in Prov. 3. 11. My Son, forget not the Discipline of the Lord, nor faint when thou art corrected; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth. But if God corrects whom he loves, and corrects them that they may amend; Christians also, and especially Ministers,

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do not hate, but love those whom they correct, that they may amend, since God hath also foretold our Times in Jer. 3. 15. *And I will give you, Pastors after mine own Heart, and they shall feed you in Discipline.*

Now this is that Discipline, viz. The Power and Authority of the Church exerted by her, for her own Preservation, in the censuring of her offending Members, that I am now to Discourse of; for the clearer apprehension whereof these six Queries must be examined into.

1. For what Faults Offenders were censured;
2. Who were the Judges that censured.
3. The manner of their Censures.
4. What their Censures were.
5. The Course that Offenders took to be Absolved.
- And 6. The manner of their Absolution.

§. 2. As to the first of these, For what Faults Offenders were censured. I answer, for

<p>1. Schism, 2. Heresie, 3. Covetousness, 4. Gluttony, 5. Fornication, 6. Adultery, and for 7. all other Sins whatsoever, none excepted; nay, the holy and good Men of those days were so zealous against Sin, that they used the strictest Severities against the least appearances of it, not indulging or sparing the least Branch of its pestiferous Production, but smartly punishing the least sprout of it, its lesser Acts, as well as those that were more scandalous and notorious. <i>Cyprian</i> writes, that not only</p>	<p>7. So was <i>Helicissimus</i> in <i>Cyprian. Epist. 38. §. 26. p. 90.</i> 8. <i>Euseb. lib. 5. c. 16. p. 181.</i> 9. <i>Origen. Hom. 7. in Jerem. p. 94. Vol. 1.</i> 10. <i>Origen. Ibidem.</i> 11. <i>Cyprian. Ep. 32. §. 23. p. 118.</i> 12. <i>Cyprian. Ep. 38. §. 2. p. 90.</i> 13. <i>Origen contra Celsum lib. 3. p. 142.</i></p>
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: Gra-

Epist. Ia. S. 1. p. 37. Gravissima & *extremis*
delicta, the greatest and
most heinous Crimes; but even Minor Delicta,
The Lesser Faults were punished by their Eccle-
 siastical Courts, so cutting off Sin in its Bud,
 and by the Excision of its lesser Acts and Ebul-
 lions, preventing its more gross and scanda-
 lous Eruptions: That particular Sin which they
 most severely punished, and through the fre-
 quency of Persecutions had numerous Objects
 of, was Apostacy from the Truth, or a lapsing
 into Idolatry, which Crime was always prose-
 cuted with the extremest Rigour; of which
Ninus, Clementianus and Phryx were sad Instan-
 ces, who tho' they had for some time couragi-
 ously endured their Prosecutions and Torments,
 yet at last, thro' the violence thereof, and the
 weakness of their Flesh, unwillingly consenting
 to the Heathen Idolatries, were for that Fault
 forced to undergo three years Penance; and
 had it not been for their ancient Merits, must
 have underwent a much longer, as may be seen
 at large in the 53d Epistle of Cyprian: And
 thus by these and such like severe and rigorous
 Courses, those primitive Virtuoso's endeavour-
 ed to prevent sin, and to make all the Professors
 of the Christian Religion truly holy and pious;

for as *Origen* saith, *We*
use our utmost Endeavours,
that our Assemblies
be composed of wise and
honest Men.

S. 3. As for the Judges
 that composed the Consistory or Ecclesiastical
 Court, before whom offending Criminals were
 con-

convened, and by whom censured, they will appear to have been the whole Church, both Clergy and Laity; not the Bishop without the People; nor the People without the Bishop, but both jointly constituted that Supreme Tribunal, which censured Delinquents, and Transgressors, as will be evident from what follows.

- All the Power that any Church Court exerted, was derived from that Promise and Commission of Christ, in *Matth. 16.* 18; 19. Thou art Peter; and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. Now this Power some of the Antients mention, as given to the Bishops. Thus Origén writes, That the Bishops applied to themselves this Promise that was made to Peter, teaching, That they had received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven from our Saviour, that whatsoever was bound, that is, condemned by them on Earth, was bound in Heaven; and whatsoever was loosed by them, was also

Επει δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς κλεῖδας αὐτῆς ἐδόθησαν· ὥστε πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δεσμεύοντα καὶ λύοντα εἶναι δεσμευόμενα καὶ λυόμενα ἐν οὐρανῷ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐξουσία τοῦ καθολικοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ καθολικοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος ἐκ μέρους, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Commentary on Matthæum, Tom. 1. p. 279. Vol. 1.

loosed

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loosed in Heaven; which says he, may be Orthodoxly enough applyed to them, if they hold Peter's Confession, and are such as the Church of Christ may be built upon. And so also says Cy-

rian, *Ecclesia super Episcopos constituitur; & omnes, ac singulas Ecclesias, per quoslibet presbiteros gubernatur.* Epist. 27. S. 1. *The Church is founded upon the Bishops, by whom every Ecclesiastical Action is govern'd.*

Others of the Antients mention this Power, as

given to the whole Church, according to that in *Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18.* If thy Brother shall trespass against thee; go and tell him his Fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother; but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established; and if he shall neglect them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican. Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven. By the Church here is to be understood, the whole Body of a particular Church or Parish, unto which some of the Fathers attribute

the Power of the Keys, as *Tertullian*, *If thou fearest Heaven to be shut, remember the Lord gave its Keys to Peter, and by him to the Church.* And

Firmilian, *The Power of remitting the sins of Apostles is given to the Church, as it is said, & Ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, & Episcopis qui eis Ordinatione vacanti succederunt.* Apud *Cyprian.* Epist. 75. S. 14. p. 240.

remitting Sins is given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they constituted, and to the Bishops who succeeded them. Now from this different attribution of the Power of the Keys, we may infer this, That it was so lodged both in Bishops and People, as that each had some share in it: The Bishop had the whole Executive, and part of the Legislative Power; and the People had a part in the Legislative, tho' not in the Executive. As for the Executive Power, by which I understand the formal Pronunciation of Suspensions and Excommunications, the Imposition of Hands in the Absolution of Penitents, and such like; that could be done by none, but by the Bishop, or by Persons in Holy Orders Deputed and Commission'd by him, as the Sequel will evince. But as for the Legislative, Decretive, or Judicatorial Power, that appertained both to Clergy and Laity, who conjunctly made up that Supreme Consistorial Court, which was in every Parish, before which all Offenders were tried; and, if found Guilty, sentenced and condemned.

Now that the Clergy were Members of this Ecclesiastical Court, is a thing so evidently known and granted by all, as that it would be superfluous to heap up many Quotations to prove it, so that I shall but just confirm it, after I have proved, that which may seem more strange; and that is, That the Laity were Members thereof, and Judges therein, being Sharrers with the Clergy in the Judicial Power of the Spiritual Court. And this will most evidently appear by the consideration of these following

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ing Testimonies: The first shall be out of that place of *Clement Romanus*, where he writes,

• Εὐ δὲ ἰδὼς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
ἐξ ἱστορίας, ἔγραψε
πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς
ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. *Epist. 1. ad*
Corinth. p. 69.

Who will, say according to the Example of Moses, If Seditions, Contentions and Schisms are hapned because of me, I will depart, I will go wheresoever

you please, and I will do what are enjoyned me by the People, so the Church of Christ be in Peace.

So *Origen* describes a Criminal as appearing

• Comment. in Mat.
Tom. 13. p. 335. Vol. 1.

• *ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τὸ ἐκκαλεῖται*: Before the whole Church.

And *Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria* in his Letter to *Fabius Bishop of Antioch*, speaks of one *Serapion*, that had fallen in the Times of Persecution, who had several times appeared before the Church, to beg their

• *Οὐδὲς γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀνδρός*
Euseb. lib. D. c. 44. p.
246.

Pardon, but no one did ever take any notice of him.

But *Cyprian* is most full in this matter, as when two Subdeacons and Acolyth of his Parish, had committed some great Misdemeanors, he professes that he himself was not a sufficient Judge of their

• *Hæc singulorum transgredienda sūt, & limandaplenius ratio— cum plebe ipsa univēsa. Epist.*
28. §. 2. p. 64.

Crimes, but they ought to be tried by all the People. And concerning Ecclesiasticus the Schismatick, he writes to his People from his Exile, that, if it

pleased God, he would come to them after Easter,

her, and then that *Affair* should be adjusted according to their Arbitrement and Common Counsel. And in another place he condemns the rash Precipitation of some of his Presbyters in admitting the Lapsed to Communion, because of some Pacificatory Libels obtained from the Confessors, and charges them to admit no more till Peace was restored to the Church, and then they should ⁶ plead their Cause before the Clergy, and before all the People. And concerning the same matter, he writes in another Letter to the People of his Parish, *That when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, and reduce him from his Exile, that then it should be examined in their Presence, and according to their Judgment.*

So that the Consistory Court was composed of the People, as well as of the Bishop, each of whom had a negative Voice therein. On one side, the Bishop could do nothing without the People. So when several returned from the Schism of *Fortunatus*, and Bishop *Cyprian* was willing to receive them into the Churches Peace, he complains of the unwillingness of his People to admit them, and the great difficulties he had

Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum & omnium nostrum Commune Consilium— ea quæ agenda sunt disponere pariter, & linare poterimus. Epist. 40. §. 1. p. 94.

⁶ *Asturi & ad nos, & apud plebem universam causam suam. Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.*

⁷ *Cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino pius data ad Ecclesiam regredi cæperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus ac judicantibus vobis. Epist. 12. ad Plebem. §. 1. p. 37.*

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to obtain their Consent, as he thus describes it in his Letter to *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome,

“ O si posses, Frater charissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti & perversi de Schismate revertantur, videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam Fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant; vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo, ut tales patiantur admitti. Epist. 55. §. 17. p. 143.

“ O my dear Brother, if you could be present with me, when those Men return from their Schism, you would wonder at what pains I take to persuade our Brethren to be patient, that laying aside their Grief of Mind, they would consent to the healing and receiving of those that are sick; I can scarce persuade, yea, I extort a

Grant from my People, that such be received to Communion. And on the other side, the People could do nothing without the Bishop; as when one of the three Bishops that Schismatically Ordained *Novatian*, came back to the Church and desired admission, the People alone could not receive him, without the Consent of the Bishop *Cornelius*; for else they would not have

“ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀνδρῶν πᾶντων ἐν πᾶσι λαῶ. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 42. p. 244.

so earnestly press'd him for his permission, as we find they did.

Thus then we have viewed the Members of the Spiritual Court, and have proved that they were all the Members, or the whole Body of the Church; Clergy as well as Laity, and Laity as well as Clergy; not one without the other, but both together.

But now, forasmuch as the People were encumbered with earthly Business, and it was not possible

possible that they could constantly give their attendance, and narrowly search into every thing that should be brought before them: Therefore we may suppose, that the Members of the Presbytery, who, as was said before, under the Head of Ordination, were to be free from all Worldly Cares and Employments, were appointed as a Committee to prepare matters for the whole Court. An instance whereof we meet with in *Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius*, and some others, that had joined in the Schism of *Novatian*, who being sensible of their Fault, *' Came into the Presbytery, and desir'd the Churches Peace; the Presbytery accepted of their Submission, and propos'd it to the whole Church, who readily embraced it.*

* In Presbyterium venerunt—Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerit insinuandus. *Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 2, 3. p. 104, 105.*

So that the Presbytery prepared matters for the whole Court, which Court was the Supreme Tribunal within the Limits of that Parish, before whom all matters that there occurred, were tried, and by whom all were judged; only when any great and difficult points were decided, 'tis probable it was the custom to desire the Bishops of the neighbouring Parishes to come over, and assist there in presence, that so their Censures might be the freer from any imputation of Partiality or Injustice. Thus when a nice Affair was to be determined at *Rome*, *Cornelius* * desired five Bi-

* *Adfuerunt Episcopi quinque.—ut firmato consilio, quid circa personarum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur. Cornel. ad Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 2. p. 104.*

shops to assist, that so what they did might be firm and indisputable.

§. 4. Having thus found out the Members of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, the next thing to be consider'd, is the manner and Form of their Proceedings in the Exercise of their Judicial Power and Authority, which by *Tertullian* is described to be after this manner: When at their general Assemblies the other parts of Di-

' Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura divina; nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, & conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegatur. Præsident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non precio sed testimonio adepti. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.

vine Worship were ended, then followed Exhortations, Reproofs, and a Divine Censure; for the Judgment is given with great weight, as amongst those that are sure, that God beholds what they do; and this is one of the highest Preludiums and Forerunners of the Judgment to come, when the Delinquent is banished from the Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all Holy

Commerce. Approved Elders preside there, who obtained that Honour by Testimony, not by Price. So that when the Consistory was sat, the Bishop and his assisting Presbyters, here called *Approved Elders*; but commonly the Presbytery presided and moderated all things there proposed and debated. Then the Offenders, if possible, were actually brought before them, (tho' the non-appearance of the Criminals was no impediment to their Proceedings) for notwithstanding they condemned them, and censured them not

not only for those Crimes, for which they were cited to appear, but also for their Contumacy and Stubbornness, as *Cyprian* writes, * *the Proud and Obstinate are killed with the Spiritual Sword, whilst they are cast out of the Church*; and * *those that are stubborn and fear not God, but go off from the Church, let no Man accompany*. But yet, I say, if possible, the Offenders personally appeared, that so their Crimes might be objected to them, to which they were to plead, as *Cyprian* says, that the Lapsed * *were to plead their Cause before the Clergy and the whole Church*. Then the Court consider'd the Defendant's Plea, as *Cyprian* writes, * *that all things were debated in common amongst them*. And if the Bishop and Majority of the Court judged their Defence insufficient, they were voted by their common Suffrage to be condemned and censured, as *Cyprian* writes, that * *whoever was excommunicated, it was by the Divine Suffrages of the People*. The Delinquent being thus cast, or found Guilty, the next thing that succeeded, was the formal Declaration of the Sentence of the Court, which was

* *Spirituali gladio superbi & contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesia ejiciuntur. Epist. 62. §. 3. p. 170.*

* *Contumaces & Deum non timentes, & ab Ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. Epist. 64. §. 4. p. 191.*

* *Acturi & apud nos, & apud Plebem universam causam suam. Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.*

* *In commune tractabimus. Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.*

* *Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. Epist. 40. ad Plebem. §. 1. p. 92.*

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dici volens. Qui enim dicit, inquit, eis Ave, communicat operibus eorum nequissimis. *Lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 63.*

them; and John forbids us so much as to wish them God speed, since by so doing we communicate with their Evil Works. And

Tertullian in that forementioned place writes,

* A communicatione orationis & conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegetur. *Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

* That the Delinquent was banished from the Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all holy converse; being look'd upon as one unworthy of humane Society,

cast out of the Church of God here; and if impenitently dying in that condition, as certainly excluded the Kingdom of God hereafter. For as *Origen* writes on *Matth. 18. 18.* on which Text Excommunication is found-

* Ο τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ δεσμός, ὃν ἐδεδέται ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐστί ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀναλωθήσεται. *Comment. in Matth. Tom. 13. p. 336. Vol. 1.*

ed, * He that is condemn'd and bound by the Church on Earth, remains bound, none in Heaven unloosing him.

§. 6. No wonder then that Men in their right Senses were affrighted at the tremendous Misery of an Excommunicated Condition, and that when through their corrupt Natures and Wicked Practices they had incurred that Sentence, they never left Fasting, Watching, Weeping, and the endurance of the severest Courses of Mortification, till they were absolved from it, and reinstated in God and the Churches Favour. Which brings me in the next place to search into the Course that Offenders took to be recei-

received into the Church again, the usual Method whereof seems to have been thus :

All those that desired to be delivered from that miserable state, in the first place in a most penitent and humble manner came weeping and crying unto the Church-doors, where they lay groveling on the ground, prostrating themselves at the Feet of the Faithful as they went into Church, and begging their Prayers to God for them. The Behaviour of these Men is thus elegantly express'd by the Clergy of the Church of Rome in a Letter to

Cyprian, *Let them, say they, knock at the Church-doors, but not break them; let them come to the Threshold of the Church, but not pass over it; let them watch at the Gates of the Celestial Tent, but armed with Modesty, by which they may remember they were Deserters; let them resume the Trumpet of their Prayers, but not to sound an Alarm to Battle; let them arm themselves with the Darts of Modesty, and retake that Shield, which by their Apostacy they lost, that so they may*

Pulsent sane fores, sed non utique confringant; adeant ad limen Ecclesiæ, sed non utique transiliant. Castrorum coelestium excubent portis, sed armati modestia, qua intelligant se desertores fuisse. Resumant precum suarum tubam, sed qua non bellicum clangant. Arment se quidem modestiæ telis, & quem negando moris metu fidei demiserant, clypeum resumant, sed ut contra hostem Diabolum vel nunc armati non contra Ecclesiam, quæ illorum dolet casus, armatos se esse credant. Multum illis proficiet petitio modesta, postulatio verecunda, humilitas necessaria, patientia non otiosa; mittant legatos pro suis doloribus lacrymas; advocacy fungantur ex intimo pectore prolati gemitus, dolorem probantes commissi criminis & pudorem. Epist. 31. apud Cyprian. S. 7. P. 71.

be

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be armed, not against the Church, which grieves at their Misery, but against their Adversary the Devil; a modest Petition, a humble Supplication, a necessary Humility, and an industrious Patience, will be advantageous to them; let them express their grief by their Tears, and their sorrow and shame for their Crimes by their Groans. So Tertullian, in the same manner describes one in this state,

Sacco & cineri incubare, corpus fordibus obsecrare, animum mororibus deicere,—Jejuniis precesalere, ingemiscere, lachrymari, & mugire dies noctesque—Presbyteris involvi, & caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere. De Penitentia, p. 584.

by lying in Sackcloth and Ashes, by having a squalid Body, and a dejected Soul, by fasting, praying, weeping, groaning and roaring night and day; by throwing himself at the Clergies feet, and kneeling before the Faithful, begging and desiring their Prayers and Pardon.

§. 7. If the Ecclesiastical Court thought their Repentance to be real, and those external Expressions of Sorrow and Grief to proceed from suitable Affections of Heart, then they began to incline to some Terms of Remission and Reconciliation, and gave the Delinquents some hopes of it, by admitting them to come into the Church, and to stay at some part of Divine Service, but not at the whole of it, to communicate with the Faithful, till they had for a long space of time, which they then imposed on them, by their humble and modest Carriage gave good Proofs of their Sorrow and Repentance.

This fixed Time of Trial was called, the Time of Penance; during which the Penitent,

as he was now called, appeared in all the Formalities of Sorrow, with a coarse Habit, and a dejected Countenance, continually fasting and praying, lamenting and bemoaning the greatness and aggravations of his Sin and Wickedness, as may be seen in sundry places of the Fathers, all which to transcribe would be very tedious; wherefore I shall content my self with Translating a few Elegancies pertinent to this purpose, out of *Cyprian's Book De Lapsis*, wherein he thus inveighs against those, who in a state of Penance indulged themselves in the Delights and Enjoyments of the

Flesh, Can we think that that Man weeps with his whole Heart, and with Fastings, Tears, and Sighs, beseeches God, who from the very first day of his Offence daily frequents the

Lamentarium putamus ex toto corde jeuniis, fletibus, planctibus, Dominum deprecari; qui ex primo criminis die lavacra quotidie celebrat, qui epulis assuetibus pascitur, & fagina largiore distentus, cruditates suas postmodum

stat, nec cibos & potus suos cum pauperum necessitate communicat? Qui hilares ac læti incedit, quomodo mortem suam desit? An illa ingemiscit & plangit, cui vacat cultum pretiosæ vestis induere, nec indumentum Christi, quod perdidit, cogitare? Accipere pretiosa ornamenta & monilia elaborata, nec Divini & Coelestis ornatus damna deslere; tu licet indumenta peregrina & vestes sericas induas nuda es; auro te licet & margaritis gemmisque condecores, sine Christi decore deformis es. Et quæ capillos tuos inficis, vel nunc in doloribus desine, & quæ nigri pulveris ductu oculorum linimenta depingis, vel nunc lacrymis oculos tuos ablue. Si quem de tuis charis mortali exitu perdidisses, ingemisceres dolenter, & fletes: Facie inculta, veste mutata, neglecto capillo, vultu nubilo, ore dejecto indicia meroris ostenderes, animam tuam misera perdidisti. Et non acriter plangis, non jugiter ingemiscis? S. 24, 25. p. 285.

Pathos,

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Barba, who indulging to his gluttonous Appetite this Day, vomits up his undigested Crudities the next day, and does not communicate of his Meat and Drink to the Necessities of the Poor? He that goes gay and jocund, how doth he bewail his Death? Does that Woman weep and mourn, who spends her time in putting on splendid Garments, and does not think upon the Garment of Christ, which she lost? Who seeks after precious Ornaments and rich Jewels, and does not bewail the loss of the Heavenly and Divine adorning? Altho' thou puttest on costly Garbs and silken Garments, thou art naked; altho' thou beautifiest thy self with Gold and Pearls, without the Beauty of Christ thou art deformed. And thou who dyest thine Hair, now leave it off in this time of Penance; and thou who paintest thine Eyes, wash it off with thy Tears. If thou shouldst lose any one of thy dear Friends by Death, thou wouldst sorrowfully weep and howl, and express the greatness of thy Sorrow by thy disfigured Face, mourning Garments, neglected Hair, cloudy Countenance, and dejected Visage. Why, O Wretch, thou hast lost thy Soul, and wilt not thou bitterly weep, and continually lament?

* *Now therefore pray and supplicate more earnestly, pass the Day in weeping, the Night in watching and crying, both Night and Day in Tears and Lamentations, prostrate your selves upon the Ground,*

* *Orare oportet impensius & rogare, diem luctu transigere, vigilis noctes ac fletibus ducere, tempus omne lachrymosis lamentationibus occupare, stratos solo adherere cineri, in cilicio & sordibus volutari: post indumentum Christi perditum, nullum hic jam velle vestitum: post Diaboli cibum male jejunium.* S. 28. p. 286.

roll your selves in dust and ashes; after having lost the Garment of Christ, have no cloathing here, having tasted the Devil's Meat, chuse now to fast.

§. 8. How long these Penitentiary Stations were, cannot be defined, since they differed according to the Quality of the Offence and the Offender, according to the Circumstance of Time, and the Will and Pleasure of the Ecclesiastical Court who imposed them; some were in the state of Penance two Years, some three, some five, some ten, some more, some even to their Lives ends; but how long and rigorous soever their Penance was, they were patiently, humbly, and thankfully to endure it the whole time, being not absolved, till they had undergone the legal and full time of Satisfaction.

It is true indeed, that in some extraordinary Cases the Prudence of the Church saw fit to dispense with the usual length and Severity of their inflicted Discipline, as in Case of Death,

of an approaching Persecution, or, when a great multitude, and eminent leading Persons were concerned in the same Offence; as in the case of Trophimus, which may be seen in the 52d Epistle of

Cyprian. Besides these, the Confessors claimed the Privilege of restoring Penitents before the usual time; which irregular and unreasonable

Legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis. Cyprian. Epist. 59. §. 1. p. 164.

Urgere exitus coeperit. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 13. §. 1. p. 39.

Lapsi pacem dabant esse, & eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari & instrui oportere. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. §. 1. p. 132.

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Practice of theirs caused great Disturbances to the Church of *Carthage* in the Days of *Cyprian*, which may be seen at large in several Epistles extant in the beginning of his Works,

But laying aside these unusual Circumstances, the fixed Period of Penance was never anticipated ; but how long and severe soever it was, the Penitent chearfully submitted to it.

When the appointed Time of Penance was ended, the Penitent applyed himself to the Ec-

* *Inspecta vita ejus qui agit poenitentiam.* *Cypr. Epist. 12. S. 1. p. 37.*

clesiastical Court for Absolution, who * examined his Demeanors and Actions, which if they ap-

proved and liked, they then proceeded to the formal alloyling of him, of which in the following Sections.

§. 9. On the appointed Day for Absolution, the Penitent, or he that was now to be absolved, came into the Church mourning and weeping, and expressing all external Indications of his Internal Sorrow : As when *Natalis*, a Roman Confessor, was absolved for his joining with the *Atheadorian* Hereticks, he came into the Church, as it is related by an ancient nameless Christian,

Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτισμῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ ἁγιασμῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ ἁγιασμῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ ἁγιασμῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ ἁγιασμῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ ἁγιασμῷ. *Apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. p. 197.*

* covered with Sackcloth and Ashes, throwing himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, and with Tears in his Eyes begging their pardon and forgiveness. It being looked upon as very proper, that they should be admitted into the Church by Tears

Non minis sed precibus & lamentationibus. *Cypr. Ep. 55. §. 18. p. 143.*

not

not by Threats; by Prayers, and not by Curses.

Hence at this time for the greater Demonstration of their Sorrow and Humility, they were to make a publick Confession of their Sin, styled by them *Exomologesis*, which was, as Cyprian saith, ² *A Confession of their great and heinous Crime, and was a necessary Antecedent to Absolution, inasmuch as it was the Source and Spring of all true Repentance.* For as Tertullian observes, ³ *Out of Confession is born Repentance, and by Confession comes Satisfaction.* And in many places of ⁴ Cyprian the necessity of Confession is asserted; for as Tertullian says, ⁵ *Confession as much diminishes the Fault, as Dissimulation aggravates it; Confession is the Advice of Satisfaction, Dissimulation of Contumacy.* And therefore he condemns those, who thro' shame deferred from Day to Day the Publication of their Sin,

as ⁶ *more mindful of their shamedness, than of their Salvation: Like those who have a Disease in*

scientiam medentium vitant, sua pereunt. De Penitentia, p. 382.

² *Exomologesi gravissimi atque extremi delicti. Epist. 11. §. 1. p. 32.*

³ *Satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione poenitentia noscitur. De Penitentia, p. 380.*

⁴ *Epist. 10. §. 2. p. 30. Epist. 11. §. 1. p. 32.*

⁵ *Tantum relevat confessio delictum, quantum dissimulatio exaggerat; confessio enim satisfactionis consilium est, dissimulatio contumacia. De Penitentia, p. 380.*

thro' shame deferred

⁶ *Pudoris magis memores quam Salutis velut illi qui in partibus vercundioribus corporis contracta vexatione, con-*

& ita cum erubescencia

their

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their Secret Parts, through shame conceal it from the Chyrurgions, and so with their Modesty die and perish. Confession therefore being so necessary, the greatest Offenders were not exempted from it; as when Philip the Emperor, as Eusebius calls him, or rather Philip a Prefect of Egypt, would have joyned with the Faithful in the Churches Prayer, Bishop Babylas denied him admission, because of his enormous Crimes; nor would he receive him, till he had made a Public Confession of his Faults. And accordingly when one of those Bishops that Schismatically Ordained Novatian, returned as a Penitent, he came into the Church weeping, and Confessing his Sin;

Ἐξομολογήσασθαι. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 34. p. 232.

Ἐξομολογήσασθαι τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἀμάρτημα. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 243.

intimates, that the Penitent's Confession was not only general, or for all his Sins in the gross; but it was particular, for that special Sin for which he was censured; consonant whereunto Cyprian, as before quoted, writes, that the Penitent confessed his most great and heinous Sin; that is, that Sin for which he was so severely punished.

Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti. Epist. 11. S. 16. p. 32.

This Confession of the Penitents was made with all the outward Signs of Sorrow and Grief, which usually so affected the Faithful, as that they sympathized with them in mourning and

and weeping. Whence *Tertullian* exhorts the Penitent not through shame to conceal, but from a true Godly Disposition, to confess his Fault before the whole Church, and to weep and mourn for it, ¹ *since they, being his Brethren, would also weep with, and over him.* And so from the same Consideration, *Cyprian* exhorted the Lapsed to this Penitent Confession, ² *with our Tears, saith he, join your Tears; with our Groans couple your Groans.*

§. 10. As soon as Confession was over, they followed the formal Absolution, which was thus: The Person to be absolved, kneeled down before the Bishop and the Clergy, who put their Hands upon his Head, and bless'd him; by which external Ceremony the Penitent was declaratively and formally admitted to the Churches Peace. Thus *Cyprian* writes,

that they ³ *received the Right of Communion by the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and his Clergy.* And that ⁴ *no one can be admitted to Communion, unless the Bishop and Clergy have imposed Hands on him.* This being accounted the third and last

general Requisite for the reconciling of Offenders, the two former being the undergoing a state-

¹ Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis — æque illi cum super te lacrymas agunt. *De Penitentia*, A. 38a.

² Cum lacrymis nostris vestras lacrymas iungite; cum nostris gemitibus, vestros gemitus copulate. *De Lapsis*, §. 27. p. 285.

³ Per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. *Epist.* 10. §. 2. p. 30.

⁴ Nec ad Communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi & ab Episcopo & Clero manus fuerit imposita. *Epist.* 12. §. 1. p. 37.

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state of Penance, and a publick Confession of their Sin; all which three are frequently mentioned together as such by *Cyprian*, as where he

lays, *Let Offenders do Penance a set space of time, and according to the Order of Discipline, let them come to Confession, and by Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and Clergy, let them receive the Rights of Communion.* And in

other places he complains of the irregular and unadvised Actions of some of his Presbyters, that they admitted some of the Lapsed to Com-

munion, *before they had undergone a due Penance, made a Publick Confession of their Sin, and had Hands imposed on them by the Bishop and Clergy.*

§. 11. After the Penitents were absolved by imposition of Hands, then they were received into the Communion of the Faithful, and made Par-

takers again of all those Privileges, which by their Crimes they had for a while forfeited: Only when an offending Clergy-man was absolved, he only was restored to Communion as a Lay-man, but never re-admitted to his Ecclesiastical Dignity. Thus when one of the Schismatical Bishops, that Ordained *Novatian*, returned to the Church, he was deprived of his Ecclesiasti-

Agant peccatores poenitentiam iusto tempore, & secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, & per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri jus communicationis accipiant. *Epist.* 10. §. 2. p. 30

Ante actam poenitentiam, ante Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Episcopo & Clero in poenitentiam impositam, ostendere lapsis pacem, & Eucharistiam dare audeant. *Epist.* 11. §. 1. p. 32. and almost the same words are repeated, *Epist.* 12. §. 1. p. 37.

Ecclēastical Office, and admitted only to Holy Communion. So likewise Apostate or Lapsed Bishops were never restored again to their Office. The Reasons whereof may be seen in the 64th Epistle of Cyprian. And therefore Basilides a lapsed Bishop would have been extremely glad, if the Church would but have permitted him to communicate as a Layman. But yet I suppose that for every Fault Clergymen were not deprived of their Orders, but only according to the Greatness of their Crimes, and the Aggravation of them, since I find that *Maximus* a Presbyter of the Church of Rome, who had been deluded into the Schism of *Novatian*, was upon his Submission restored by *Cornelius*, to his former Office.

Ἐκκοινωνήσαμεν αὐτῷ λαῖκα. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 243.

* Satis sibi gratians, si sibi vel laico communicare contingeret. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. p. 202.

* Maximam Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere iussimus. Cornel. apud Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 4. p. 105.

C H A P. VIII.

§. 1. *Of the Independency of Churches.* §. 2. *Of the Dependency of Churches.* §. 3. *Of Synods, and the several kinds of them.* §. 4. *How often Synods were convened.* §. 5. *Who were the Members of Synods.* §. 6. *By whose Authority Synods were convened.* §. 7. *When convened, the manner of their Proceedings, a Moderator first chosen, what the Moderator's Office was.* §. 8. *Then they entered upon Business, which had relation either to Foreign Churches, or their own; with respect to Foreign Churches, their Acts were only advising.* §. 9. *With respect to their own Churches obliging. The End and Power of Synods enquired into.*

§. 1. **T**O that large Discourse of the Primitive Discipline, which was the Subject of the preceding Chapter, it will be necessary to add this Observation, that all those judicial Acts were exerted in and by every single Parish, every particular Church having Power to exercise Discipline on her own Members, without the Concurrence of other Churches; else in those places where there might be but one Church for several Miles round, which we may reasonably suppose, the Members of that Church must have travelled several, if not Scores of Miles, to have had the consent of other Churches, for the punishment of their Offenders: But there is no need to make this Supposition, since it was decreed by an *African* Synod,

nod, that every one's Cause should be heard where the Crime was committed, because that to every Pastor was committed a particular Portion of Christ's Flock, which he was particularly to rule and govern, and to render an account thereof unto the Lord. And so another African Synod, that decreed the Rebaptization of those that were Baptized by Hereticks, thus conclude their Synodical Epistle to Pope Stephen, who held the contrary, *Whereas we know that some Bishops will not relinquish an Opinion, which they have embraced, but keeping the Band of Peace and Concord with their Colleagues, will retain some proper and peculiar Sentiments, which they have formerly received; to these we offer no violence, or prescribe any Law, since every Bishop has in the administration of his Church, free liberty to follow his own Will, being to render an account of his Actions unto the Lord.*

* Statutum sit omnibus nobis, & æquum: sit pariter ac justum, ut unius cujusque causa illic audiat; ubi est crimen admissum, & singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet rationem sui actus Domino redditurus. *Apid Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 16. p. 142.*

* Cæterum scimus quoddam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter Collègas pacis & concordie vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sunt usurpata, retinere, quæ in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Apid Cyprian. Epist. 72. §. 3. p. 217.*

After these two Synodical Determinations, it might be thought needless to produce the

single Testimony of *Cyprian*, but that it shews us not only the practice of the Bishops of his

* *Apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem moribus non putaverunt & in totum penitentiam locum contra adulteria clausurunt, non tamen a Coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritiæ vel censuræ suæ obstinatione ruperunt, ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat de Ecclesiâ separaretur, manente concordia vinculo & perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.* *Epist.* 52. §. 13. p. 118.

Age, but also of their Predecessors. * *Amongst the ancient Bishops of our Province, saith he, some thought that no Peace was to be given to Adulterers, for ever excludng them from the Communion of the Church; but yet they did not leave their Fellow-Bishops, or for this break the Unity of the Catholic Church; and those that gave Peace to Adulterers, did not therefore separate from those that did not, but still retaining the Bond of Concord, every Bishop disposed and directed his own Acts, rendring an account of them unto the Lord.*

Thus every Church was in this Sense independent; that is, without the Concurrence and Authority of any other Church; it had a sufficient Right and Power in its self to punish and chastise all its delinquents and offending Members.

§. 2. But yet in another Sense it was dependent, as considered with other Churches, as

* *Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra*

part of the Church Universal, * *There is but one Church of Christ, saith Cyprian,*

Cyprian, divided through the whole World into many Members, and one Episcopacy diffused through the numerous Concord of many

*divisa, item episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numero-
fate diffusus. Epist. 52.
§. 13. p. 118.*

Bishops. A Particular Church was not the whole Church of Christ, but only a Part or Member of the Universal one; and as one Member of the natural Body hath a regard to all the other Members thereof, so a particular Church, which was but one Member of the Universal, had relation and respect to the other Members thereof. Hence tho' the Labours and Inspections of the Bishops were more peculiarly confined to their own Parishes, yet as Ministers of the Church Universal, they employed a general kind of Inspection over other Churches also, observing their Condition and Circumstances, and giving unto them an account of their own state and posture; as *Cyprian* inspected that of *Arles*, giving this as his Reason for it, that

' altho' they were many Pastors, yet they were but one Flock, and they ought to congregate and cherish all the Sheep, which Christ redeemed by his Blood and Passion. And the Clergy of the Church of

*Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, & oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo & passione quasi-
vit, colligere & fovere debemus. Epist. 67.
§. 6. p. 199.*

Rome thanked *Cyprian*, that he had acquainted them with the state of the Church in *Africa*; for say they, *We ought all*

• Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius Ecclesie, cujus per varias quasque provincie membra digesta sunt, excubare. Apud Cypr. Epist. 30. §. 4. p. 67.

of us to take care of the Body of the whole Church, whose Members are distended through various Provinces. If the Bishop of one Church had any difficult Point to determine, he sent to another Bishop for his Advice and Decision thereof. As when *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* had a critical Cause to determine, he sent to *Xystus* Bi-

shop of *Rome*, 'to know his Opinion and Counsel therein. And so when there was some difference at *Carthage* about the *Pacificatory Libels* of

Καὶ ὁ ὁπλιὶς ἀλλοῦ συμβουλῆς δευμαί, καὶ γνώμῃ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν. Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 254.

the Martyrs, *Cyprian* writ to the Church of *Rome* for their Advice therein. For saith he,

• Et dilectio communis & ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientie vestrae subtrahere de his quae apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticae administrationis commune consilium. Epist. 29. p. 66.

• Dearly beloved Brethren, both common Reason and Love require, that none of these things that are transacted here, should be kept from your Knowledge; but that we should have your Counsel about Ecclesiastical Administrations. In these, and in

many other such like Cases, which would be needless to enumerate, there was a Correspondence between the particular Churches of the Universal one.

§. 3. But that that chiefly deserves our Consideration, was their Intercourse and Government by Synodical Assemblies, that is, by a Convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed Lay-men of several particular Churches, who frequently met together to maintain

maintain Unity, Love and Concord, to advise about their common Circumstances and Conditions, to regulate all Ecclesiastical or Church-Affairs within their respective Limits, and to manage other such like things, of which I shall more largely treat in the end of this Chapter.

That which must be spoken of in this Section is, the several kinds or sorts of Synods, the most august and supreme kind whereof, was an Universal or Oecumenical Synod, which was a Congregation of the Bishops and Deputies of as many Churches as would please to come from all Parts of the World: Of this sort I find but one within my limited space of the first three Hundred Years after Christ, and that was the *2^d Council of Antioch*, that condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*. Or if this will not pass for a General Council, there was no such one before that of *Nice*, which was held *Anno 325*. and so there was no one of this kind within that time to which I am confined.

But those Synods, which were very frequent within my prescribed time, were Provincial Synods, that is, as many particular Churches as could conveniently and orderly associate themselves together, and by their common Consent and Authority dispose and regulate all things that related to their Polity, Unity, Peace, and Order. What extent of Ground, or how many particular Churches each of such Synods did contain, cannot be determined; their Precincts were not alike in all places, but according as their Circumstances and Conveniencies

would permit, so they formed themselves into these Synodical Assemblies, and were governed in common by those Synods, who were called the Synods of such or such a Province: As we read in Cyprian of the

¹ Coepiscopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis; *Epist.* 67. §. 1. p. 198.

² In provincia nostra. *Epist.* 52. §. 13. p. 118.

³ Per provinciam nostram. *Epist.* 42. §. 2. p. 99.

⁴ Per provinciam. *Epist.* 55. §. 18. p. 143.

⁵ Latius fusa est nostra provincia. *Epist.* 45. §. 2. p. 103.

⁶ Apud nos & fere per provincias universas tenetur. ut— ad eam plebem cui praepositus ordinatur Episcopi ejusdem provinciae proximi quique convenient. *Epist.* 68. §. 6. p. 202.

Province of Arles, and the Bishops therein. And Cyprian frequently speaks

of the Bishops of his Province, as the Bishops in our Province, and throughout our Province, and throughout the Province.

And tells us, that his Province was very large, and that it was the custom of his Province, and almost all other Provinces, that upon the Vacancy of a Parish, the neighbouring Bishops of that Province should meet together at that Parish to

Ordain them a new Bishop.

§. 4. How often these Provincial Synods were convened, is uncertain, since that varied according to their Circumstances, and their respective Customs. Firmilian Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia writes, that in his Province

⁷ Per singulos annos in unum conveniamus. *Apud Cyp.* *Epist.* 75. §. 3. p. 236.

they met every Year. And whosoever will consider the frequent Synods that are mentioned in Cyprian, will find that in his

his Province they met at least once, and sometimes twice or thrice a Year.

§. 5. As for the Members that composed these Synods, they were Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed Laymen in behalf of the People of their respective Churches. Thus at that great Synod of Antioch, that condemned

Paulus Samosatenus, there were present

Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the Churches of God, that is, Laymen that represented the People of their

several Churches. So also we read in an ancient Fragment in *Eusebius*, that when the Heretic of the Montanists was fix'd and preach'd,

the Faithful in Asia met together several times to examine it, and upon examination condemned it.

So also when there were some Heats in the Church of Carthage about the Restitution of the Lapsed, *Cyprian* writes from his Exile, that the Lapsed should be patient till God had restored Peace to the Church, and then there should be con-

vened a Synod of Bishops, and of the Laity who had stood firm during the Persecution, to consult about, and determine their Affairs. Which Proposition

was approved by *Moses* and *Maximus*, and other Roman Confessors, who liked the consult-

*Ἐπισκοποι καὶ πρεσβυτε-
ροι καὶ διακονοὶ καὶ αἱ ἐκ-
κλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐκ Ἐπισθ.
Synod. apud Euseb. l. 7.
c. 30. p. 279.*

*Τὸν δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀσίας
πάλιν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι συνέ-
λεον. &c. apud Euseb. lib.
5. cap. 16. p. 181.*

*Ut Episcopi plures in
unum convenientes, præ-
sente & stantium præbe-
re omnia consilii
communis religionis pos-
simus. Epist. 14. §. 2.
p. 41.*

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* Consultis omnibus Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Confessoribus, & ipsiſtantium Laicis. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 26. §. 4. p. 66.*

† Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus, pariter ac ſtantibus Laicis facta, lapſorum tractare rationem. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31. §. 5. p. 70.*

* Episcopi plurimis—cum Presbyteris & Diaconibus, præſente etiam plebis maxima parte. *Aſt. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

ing. * of a Synod of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the ſtanding Laity, as alſo did the whole Body of the Clergy of the Church of Rome, who were willing, that that Affair ³ of the Lapsed ſhould be determined by the common Counſel of the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the ſtanding Laity. And thus at that great Council held at Carthage, Anno 258. there were preſent Eighty Seven * Bishops, together with Presbyters, Deacons, and a great part of the Laity.

§. 6. If it ſhall be demanded by whoſe Authority and Appointment Synods were aſſembled.

To this it will be replied, That it muſt neceſſarily have been by their own, becauſe in thoſe Days there was no Chriſtian Magiſtrate to order or determine thoſe Affairs.

§. 7. When a Synod was convened, before ever they entred upon any Publick Cauſes, they choſe out of the graveſt and renownedſt Bishops amongſt them, one, or ſometimes two, to be their Moderator or Moderators; as at the Council held at Carthage,

Anno 258. ³ Cyprian was Moderator or Prolocutor thereof.

³ Aſt. Concil. Carthag. ad Calcem oper. Cypr.

thereof. And so we read of the Prolocutors of several Synods, that were assembled in divers parts of the World, to determine the Controversies concerning Ea-

ster: As ^{*} Victor Bishop of Rome was Prolocutor

^{*} Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190, 191.

of a Synod held there. Palmas Bishop of Amastris Moderator of a Synod held in Pontus; and Irenæus Bishop of Lyons of another in France.

^{*} Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus presided over a Synod of Asiatick Bishops; and ^{*} at a Convocation in Palestina there were two

^{*} Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 191.

^{*} Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190.

Moderators, viz. Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem. The Office and Duty of a Moderator was to preside in the Synod, to see all things calmly and fairly debated and decreed; and at the conclusion of any Cause, to sum up what had been debated and urged on both sides, to take the Votes and Suffrages of the Members of the Synod; and last of all, to give his own. All this is evident in the Proceedings of the Council of Carthage, which are extant at the end of Cyprian's Works, Cyprian being Moderator of that Council: After all things were read and finished relating to the Question in hand, sums up all, telling the Synod what they had heard, and that nothing more remained to be done, but the Declaration of their Judgment thereupon. Accordingly thereunto the Bishops gave their respective Votes and Decisions; and last of all Cyprian, as President, gave in his.

§. 8. When the Moderator was chosen, then they entred upon the consideration of the Affairs that lay before them, which may be consider'd in a two-fold respect, either as relating to Foreign Churches, or to those Churches only of whom they were the Representatives. As for foreign Churches, their Determinations were not obligatory unto them, because they were not represented by them; and so the chiefest matter they had to do with them, was to give them their Advice and Counsel in any difficult Point, which they had proposed to them; as when the People of *Astorga* and *Emerita* in *Spain* had written to some *African* Churches for their Advice, what to do with their two Bishops, who had lapsed in Times of Persecution. This Case was debated in a Synod held *Anno* 258, whose Opinion thereupon is to be seen in their Synodical Epistle, extant at large amongst the Works of *Cyprian*. *Epist.* 68. p. 200.

§. 9. But with respect unto those particular Churches, whose Representatives they were, their Decrees were binding and obligatory, since the Regulation and Management of their Affairs was the general End of their Convening.

Various and many were the particular Ends of these Synodical Conventions, as for the prevention of Injustice and Partiality in a Parish Consistory: As suppose, that such a Consistory had wrongfully and unrighteously censured one of their Members, what should that censured Person do, unless appeal to the Synod to have his Cause heard there, as *Feliciſſimus* did, who after he was excommunicated by his own Parish,

Parish, of which *Cyprian* was Bishop, had his Cause heard before a Synod, who ratified and confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication against him.

And therefore we may suppose it to be for the prevention of Partiality and Injustice; that in *Lesser Asia* Offenders were usually absolved by the Synod, which met every Year. Synods also were assembled for the examining, condemning, and excommunicating of all Hereticks within their Limits, that so the Faithful might avoid and shun them: As *Paulus Samosatenus* was condemned by the Council of Antioch, for resolving of all difficult Points that did not wound the Essentials of Religion, or had relation unto the Discipline of the Church, as when there was some Scruple about the Time of baptizing of Children, a Synod of Sixty Six Bishops met together to decide it. And so when there were some Disputes concerning the Martyrs Power to restore the Lapsed, Synods were to be assembled to decide them. But why do I go about to reckon up Particulars, when as they are endless; let this suffice in general, that Synods

Litteras ad te collegas nostri manu sua subscriptas miserunt, qui auditis eis, quid senserint, & quid pronunciaverint, eorum literis discas. *Cyprian. Epist. 42. §. 5. p. 99.*

prevention of Partiality

Per singulos annos conveniamus—at lapsis tribus per penitentiam medela quæzatur. *Firmilian. apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. §. 3. p. 236.*

Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. p. 162.

In unum convenientes—disponere omnia possumus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 14. §. 2. p. 41.*

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nods were convened for the Regulation and Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs within their respective Jurisdictions, as *Firmilian*

* Ut per singulos annos seniores & præpositi in unum conveniant ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. §. 3. p. 236.*

writes, that in his Country *the Bishops and Presbyters met together every Year, to dispose those things which were committed to their charge.* Here they

consulted about the Discipline, Government, and External Policy of their Churches, and what means were expedient and proper for their Peace, Unity and Order; which by their common Consent they enacted and decreed to be observed by all the Faithful of those Churches whom they did represent.

He who denies this, must be very little acquainted with the ancient Councils, especially those which were held after the Emperors became Christians. The reason why we find not more Synodical Decrees of the three first Centuries, comes not, from that they judicially determined none, or required not the observance of them; but from that, either they were not careful, or the Fury and Violence of the Times would not permit them to transmit them down to their Successors; or through the length of time they are lost, and scarce any thing besides the Names of such Synods are now remembered; and of Multitudes, neither Names nor Decrees are to be found: But yet there is enough escap'd the Fury of Persecution, and the length of time to convince us, that those Synods did decree those things, which they judg-
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ed expedient for the Polity, Discipline and Government of those particular Churches; that were within their respective Provinces; and required them to be observed by all the Members thereof.

Thus we find these following Canons determined by several Synods in *Africa*, viz.

1 That though a Delinquent had not endured the whole time of Penance, yet if he was very sick, and in danger of Death, he should be absolved.

2 That at the approach of a Persecution, penitent Offenders should be restored to the Churches Peace.

3 That Penance should not be hastily passed over, or Absolution be rashly and speedily given.

4 That all lapsed and apostate Clergymen, should upon their Repentance, be only admitted to Communion as Lay-men, and be never more capable of discharging or performing any Ecclesiastical Function.

5 That no Clergyman should be a Curator or Trustee of a last Will or Testament.

1 Statueramus—Si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. §. 1. p. 132.*

2 Censuimus—Pacem dandam esse, & eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari & instrui oportere. *Ibidem.*

3 Ante legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis—pax ei conceditur. *Cyprian. Epist. 59. §. 1. p. 164.*

4 Decreverit ejusmodi homines ad poenitentiam quidem agendum posse admitti, ab Ordinatione autem Cleri atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi. *Apud Cyprian. Ep. 68. §. 7. p. 202.*

5 Statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis & Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 66. §. 2. p. 199.*

And

And many other such like Synodical Decrees relating to the Discipline and Polity of the Church, are to be met with in *Cyprian*, which were ever accounted Obligatory to all those Parishes who lived within those respective Provinces, and had their Representatives in those respective Synods; for to what purpose else did they decree them, if it had been fruitless and ridiculous to have made frequent and wearisome Journeys, with great Cost and Pains, to have debated and determined those things, which they judged expedient for the Churches Well-being, if after all it was indifferent, whether they were obeyed, or not?

But that their Decrees were binding, is adjudged by an *African Synod* of Sixty Six Bishops, held *Anno 254*,

who sharply rebuked a certain Bishop called *Therapius*, for breaking the Canons of a Synod, in absolving a certain Presbyter called *Victor*, before the time appointed by that Synod was expired. Probably the Breaker of those

Canons was to have been Deposed or Suspended, or some other severe Punishment inflicted on him, since the Bishops of this Synod speak as if they had moderated the Rigour of the Canons against *Therapius*, in that they were contented only with chiding him for his rashness, and with strictly charging him, that he should do so no more.

Victori antequam penitentiam plenam egisset, temere Therapius, pacem dederit, quæ nos satis mover, receptum esse à decreti nostri auctoritate. *Apud Cyp. Epist. 59. S. 1. p. 164.*

Satisfacta objurgare Therapium—quod temere hoc fecerit, & instruxisse ne quid tale de cætero faciat. *Ibidem.*

So

So another Synod in Africa decreed, that if any one should name a Clergy-man in his last Will and Testament for his Trustee, no Sacrifice should be offered for him after his Death. (What the meaning of this Offering of Sacrifice after his Death is, I shall not shew here, since I must treat of it in another place.) Accordingly when *Geminus Victor* Bishop of *Furnis* had by his last Will and Testament constituted *Geminus Faustinus* a Presbyter, his Trustee, *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, writ unto the Clergy and Laity of *Furnis* touching this matter, wherein he informeth them, *That he and his Colleagues were very much offended that Geminus Victor had thus broke the Canons of the Synod; but that since he had done it, he hoped they would take care that he should suffer the Penalty annexed to the Breach thereof, that in conformity thereunto they would not mention him in their Prayers, or make any Oblation for him, that so the Decree of the Bishops, which was religiously and necessarily made, might be observed by them.*

Considerant ac quid frater excedens, ad tutelam vel curam Clericorum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec Sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. Apud Cyprianum Epist. 66. §. 2. p. 195.

Graviter commoti sumus ego & collega mei- & ideo Victor, cum contra formam nuper in concilio à Sacerdotibus datum, Geminium Faustinum Presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur, ut Sacerdotum decretum religiose & necessarie factum servetur à nobis. Ibidem, §. 1, 2. p. 195.

To these two Instances we may add that of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for their falling into Idolatry in times of Persecution, were deprived of their Ecclesiastical Functions, and adjudged never more to be admitted to the Churches Communion in any other Quality than that of Laymen, which rigorous Sentence an African Synod defends,

Maximè cum jampridem decretum est, ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacrodotali honore prohiberi. *Apud Cyp. Ep. 68. §. 8. p. 202.*

³ *from the Authority of a General Council, who had before decreed, that such Men should only be admitted to Repentance, but be for ever excluded from all Clerical and Sacerdotal Dignities.*

C H A P. IX.

- §. 1. *Of the Unity of the Church, of Schism, defined to be a Breach of that Unity. The Unity of the Church, and consequently the Breach of it to be differently understood, according to the various Significations of the Word Church.* §. 2. *The Unity of the Church Universal considered Negatively and Positively; Negatively, it consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites, nor in an Unanimity of Consent to the non-essential Points of Christianity. The Rigid Imposers thereof condemned as Cruel and Tyrannical.* §. 3. *Positively, it consisted in an harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Faith. The Non-agreement*

want therein called Schism, but not the Schism of the Ancients. §. 4. How the Unity of a Church Collective was broken; this neither the Schism of the Ancients. §. 5. The Unity of a particular Church consisted in two things, in the Members Love and Amity each towards other, and in the Peoples close adherence to their Bishop, or Parish-Church: The Breach of the former sometimes called Schism. §. 6. The Breach of the latter, which was a causeless Separation from their Bishop, the Schism of the Ancients. In how many Cases it was lawful for the People to separate from their Bishop. §. 7. A Separation under any other Pretence whatsoever, was that which the Fathers generally and principally meant by Schism, proved so to have been. §. 8. Farther proved from Ignatius. §. 9. Exemplified in the Schism of Felicissimus and Novatian. §. 10. An Objection answered touching the Schism of Novatian. How the Schism of one particular Church affected other Churches. §. 11. A Summary and Conclusion of this Discourse concerning Schism.

§. 1. **H**AVING in the precedent Chapters discoursed of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church, I come now in this to treat of the Unity thereof, which I had a very great Inclination to search into, since by the due understanding thereof we shall the better apprehend the Notion of the Ancients concerning Schism, because that Schism is nothing else but a Breach of that Unity, as will most evidently appear from the Quotations that we shall be forced to make use of in this Chapter.

Now that we may know what the Breach of the Unity of the Church was, it is absolutely necessary first to know what the Unity its self was; for till we understand its Unity, it is impossible that we should understand the Breach thereof.

Now for the distinct apprehending heresof, we must remember the various Acceptations of the Word Church, as they are related in the beginning of this Treatise, and according to the different Significations thereof, so must its Unity be diversified, or be differently understood; and according to the different manner of its Unity, so must we apprehend the Breach thereof.

§. 2. If in the first place we reflect upon the Word Church, as signifying the Church Universal, or all those, who throughout the whole Earth profess Faith in Christ, then we may consider its Unity in this Sense either Negatively, wherein it did not consist; or Positively, wherein it did consist.

Negatively, It consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Customs: for every particular Church was at liberty to follow its own proper Usages: One Church was not obliged to observe the Rites of another, but every one followed its own peculiar Customs. Thus with respect to their Fast before *Easter*, there was a great Diversity in the Observation of it, *in some Churches they*

* Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁρτοῦν μίαν ἡμέραν δὲν αὐτὴς νηστεύον, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλεονάζοντες, οἱ δὲ πενταεξακοῖα ἡμέρας ἡμεῖναις τε καὶ νυκτεῖναις συνίστησι τῷ ἡμέραν αὐτῷ πάντες οὗτοι εἰρηδοῦσαν ἢ διαφωνία καὶ νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ πείραν συνίστην. *Iren. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.* *fasted*

fasted one Day, in others two, in some more, and in others forty Hours, but yet still they retained Peace and Concord, the diversity of their Customs commending the Unity of their Faith. So also the Feast of Easter its self was variously celebrated. The Asiatick Churches kept it on a distinct Day from the Europeans, but yet still they retained Peace and Love, and for the diversity of such Customs, none were ever cast out of the Communion of the Church. So likewise writes Firmilian, ' That in most Provinces their Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Dioceses and Places, and that for this no one ever departed from the Peace and Unity of the Catholick Church. So that the Unity of the Church Universal consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Usages.

Neither in the next Place did it consist in an Unanimity of Consent to the Non-essential Points of Christianity, but every one was left to believe in those lesser matters, as God should inform him. Therefore Justin Martyr speaking of those Jewish Converts, who had adhered to the Mosaical Rites, says, that if they did this only through their Weakness and Imbecillity, and did not perswade other Christians to the observance of the same Judaical Customs, that ' he would

Ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνη ἡ τοῦ εἰδέναι ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡμετέρας. Idem Ibidem.

* In plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. §. 5. p. 237.

ἢ προσλαμβάνειν καὶ κοινῶς ἀναστῶν ὡς ὁμοσυνέχους καὶ ἀδελφοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ. Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 266. L 3 receive

receive them into Church-fellowship and Communion.

Whoſoever impoſed on particular Churches the obſervance of the former of theſe two things, or on particular Perſons the belief of the latter, they were eſteemed not as Preservers and Maintainers, but as Violaters and Breakers of the Churches Unity and Concord.

An Inſtance of the former we have in that Controverſie between the Churches of the Eaſt and Weſt, touching the time when *Eaſter* was to be celebrated. For when *Viſtor* Biſhop of *Rome* had Excommunicated the Eaſtern Churches, becauſe they continued to obſerve that Feaſt on a different time from the Churches of the Weſt, not only the Biſhops of the adverſe Party, but even thoſe of his own ſide condemned him as raſh, heady, and turbulent, and writ ſeveral Letters about this Affair, wherein as the Hiſto-

rian writes, *they moſt ſharply cenſured him.*
 * Πληκτικώτερον παρὰ πλείον.
 Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

As for the Latter, we have an inſtance thereof in the Controverſie that was between *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Cyprian* Biſhop of *Cartage*, touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptiſm: For when *Stephen* Anathematized *Cyprian*, becauſe he held the Baptiſm of Hereticks to be null and void, other Biſhops condemned *Stephen* as a Breaker and Diſturber of the Churches Peace. And amongſt others, *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Biſhop, vehemently accuses him as ſuch, becauſe that he would impoſe upon others the Belief of ſuch a diſputable Point, which, ſays he, was never wonted to be done, but every

' every Church followed their own different ways, and never therefore broke the Unity and Peace of the Catholick Church, which now, saith he, Stephen dares to do, and breaks that Peace which the ancient Bishops always preserved in mutual Love and Honour. And therefore we find in the Acts of

that great Council of Carthage convened to determine this matter, that when Cyprian summ'd up the Debates thereof, he dehorts his Fellow-Bishops from the imposing Humour and Tem-

per of Stephen, ' It now remains, saith he, that every one of us declare our Judgments concerning this matter, judging no Man, or removing any one from our Communion, if he think otherwise than we do; for let none of us make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or by a Tyrannical Terror, compel his Colleagues to the necessity of obeying. So that the forcing a Belief

in these lesser matters was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Imposers thereof; who for such unreasonable Practices were look'd upon as Enemies to, and Violators of the Churches Concord, being the true Schismatics, inasmuch as they

' Multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rum-pens adversum vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum amore & honore mutuo custodierunt.

' Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. *Council of Carthage. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

were the Cause of Schism and Division, unto whom therefore may be applyed that Saying of

Judicabit eos qui Schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesie, propter modicas & quaslibet causas magnum & gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt, pacem loquentes & bellum operantes, verè liquantes culicem & camelum transglutientes.
Lib. 4. cap. 62. p. 292.

Irenæus, 'That at the last Day Christ shall judge those who cause Schisms, who are inhumane, not having the fear of God, but preferring their own advantage before the Unity of the Church, for trivial and slight Causes rent and divide the great and glorious Body of Christ, and as much as in them lies, destroy it; who speak Peace, but wage War, truly straining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel.'

§. 3. But Positively, The Unity of the Church Universal consisted in an Harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Religion, or in an Unanimous Agreement in the Fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine. Thus *Irenæus* having recited a Creed, or a short Summary of the Christian Faith, not much unlike to the Apostles Creed, immediately adds;

Hanc igitur prædicationem & hanc fidem adepta Ecclesia, quamvis dispersa in universo mundo diligenter conservat, ac si in una eademque domo habitaret: Ac similiter iis fidem habet, ac si unam animam unumque & idem cor haberet: atque uno consensu hæc prædicat, docet ac tra-

The Church having received this Faith and Doctrine, although dispersed through the whole World, diligently preserves it, as tho' she inhabited but one House, and accordingly she believes these things, as tho' she had but one Soul and one Heart, and con-
sonantly

seriously preaches and teaches these things, as tho' they had but one Mouth; for altho' there are various Languages in the World, yet the Doctrine is one and the same; so that the Churches in Germany, France, Asia, Egypt or Lybia, have not a different Faith; but as the Sun is one and the same to all the Creatures of God in the whole World: So the Preaching of the Word is a Light that enlightens every where, and illuminates all Men that would come to the knowledge of the Truth. Now this Bond of Unity was broken, when there was a Recession from, or a Corruption of the true Faith and Doctrine, as *Irenæus* speaks concerning *Tatian* the Father of the *Encratites*, that as long as his Master *Justin Martyr* lived, he held the sound Faith, but after his Death * falling off from the Church, he shaped that new Form of Doctrine. This Unity of the Church in Doctrine, according to *Hegesippus*, continued till the Days of *Simeon Cleopas* Bishop of Jerusalem, who was Martyred under *Trajan*; but after that false Teachers prevailed, such as the *Simonians*, *Marcionists*, *Valentinians*,

dic, ac si uno ore prædica-
esset. Quamvis enim dis-
similia sint in mundo ge-
nera linguarum, una ta-
men eademque est via
traditionis; nec quæ
constitutæ sunt in Ger-
mania Ecclesiæ aliter
credunt aut tradunt, nec
quæ in Hispaniis, neque
in Galliis, neque in O-
riente, neque in Ægyp-
to, neque in Lybia, aut
in medio orbis terrarum
fundatæ sunt. Sed quem-
admodum Sol creatura
Dei unus & idem est in
universo mundo, ita &
prædicatio veritatis ubi-
que lucet, & illuminat
omnes homines qui ad
notionem veritatis ve-
nire volunt. *Lib. 1. cap. 3.*
P. 36.

* *Ἀποστατὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*
Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap.
29. p. 150.

and

'Απὸ τῶν ἰδιόχειρων,
ἰδιωκούντων, ἰδιωκί-
σται, δίνεις ἐμέρων τὴν
ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκκλησίας ὅσοις
μαίους λόγους καὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ
καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτῶν. Apud
Euseb. lib. 4, cap. 22.
p. 143.

and others, ⁵ from whom
sprung false Christs, false
Apostles, and false Pra-
phets, who by their corrupt
Doctrines against God and
his Christ, divided the U-
nity of the Church. So
that the Unity of the

Church Universal consisted in an agreement of Doctrine; and the Corruption of that Doctrine was a Breach of that Unity, and whoever so broke it, are said to divide and separate the Unity of the Church, or which is all one, to be Schismatics. So *Irenæus* writes, that those that

• Scindunt & separant
unitatem Ecclesiæ. *Lib.*
4. cap. 43. p. 278.

' Diabolus Hæreses invenit & Schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumpere, scinderet unitatem. *De Unitate Ecclesia* S. 2. p. 295.

introduced new Doctrines, ⁶ did divide and separate the Unity of the Church. And Cyprian

writes, that ^{the} Devil found out Heresies and Schisms, by which he might subvert the Faith, corrupt the Truth, and divide the Unity. But now for Di-

Distinctions fake the Breach

of this Unity was commonly called Hereſie, and the word Schiſm generally applyed to the Breach of the Churches Unity in another ſenſe, of which more in the other Sections.

§. 4. If in the next place we consider the Word Church collectively, as denoting a Collection of many particular Churches, in which

• In provincia Africa & Numidia Ecclesiam Domini. *Epist.* 71. §. 4. p. 214.

Sense it is once used in ⁸ *Cyprian*. Then its U-
nity may have consisted in

in a Brotherly Correspondence with, and affection toward each other, which they demonstrated by all outward Expressions of Love and Concord, as by receiving to Communion the Members of each other, as *Irenæus* mentions, *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.* was observ'd between

the Churches of *Rome* and *Asia*, in mutually advising and assisting one another by Letters, or otherwise, of which there are frequent instances in the Ancients, and especially in *Cyprian's* Epistles, and in manifesting all other Marks and Tokens of their Love and Concord. Now this Unity was broken, when Particular Churches clash'd with each other, when from being possess'd with Spirits of Meekness, Love and Charity, they were inflamed with Hatred, Rage and Fury against each other. A sad Instance whereof we have in that Controversie betwixt *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, touching the Validity of Heretical Baptism, wherein those good Men were so far transported with Bitterness and Rancour against each other, that they interchangeably gave such harsh Language and invidious Epithets, as are too odious to name, which if the Reader be curious to know, he may find too much of it in *Cyprian's* Epistles.

Or if several particular Churches had for the promotion of Peace, Unity and Order, regularly disposed themselves into a Synodical Government and Discipline, as was always done when their Circumstances and Conveniencies would permit them; then whoever broke or violated

violated their reasonable Canons, were censured as turbulent and factious, as it hath been evidenced in the former Chapter, and needs no farther Proof in this, because that the Schism of the Ancients was not a Breach of the Churches Unity in this Sense, *viz.* as denoting or signifying a Church Collective.

§. 5. But Schism principally and originally respected a particular Church or Parish, tho' it might consequentially influence others too. Now the Unity of a particular Church consisted in the Members Love and Amity toward each other, and in their due Subjection or Subordination to their Pastour or Bishop: Accordingly the Breach of that Unity consisted in these two things, either in a Hatred and Malice of each other, or in a Rebellion against their Lawful Pastour, or which is all one, in a causeless Separation from their Bishop, and those that adhered to him.

As for the first of these, there might be Envy and Discords between the Inhabitants of a Parish, without a formal Separation from Communion, which Jars and Fewds were called Schism; an Instance whereof we find in the Church of *Corinth*, unto whom *St. Paul* objected in *1 Cor. 11. 18.* *When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be Divisions, or as it is in the Original, *ἑνώμια*, Schisms amongst you.* Here there was no separate Communion, for they all came together in the Church, and yet there were Schisms amongst them, that is, Strifes, Quarrels and Discords. And as far as I can perceive from the Epistle of *Clement Romanus*, which was writ to appease another Schism

Schism in the same Church of *Corinth*, there were then only Tumults and Differences, without any actual Separation. But on this I shall not enlarge, because it is not what the Ancients ordinarily meant by Schism.

§. 6. But that which they generally and commonly termed Schism, was a Rebellion against, or an ungrounded and causeless Separation from their Lawful Pastour, or their Parish-Church. Now because I say, that a causeless Separation from their Bishop was Schism, it will be necessary to know how many Causes could justify the Peoples Desertion of their Pastour, and these I think were two, or at most three; the first was Apostacy from the Faith, or when a Bishop renounced the Christian Faith, and through fear of Persecution embraced the Heathenish Idolatries, as was done in the

case of *Martialis* and *Basilides* two Spanish Bishops, and was justified by an African Synod, as is to be seen throughout their whole Synodical Epistle, still extant amongst those of *Cyprian's*. The second Cause was Heresy, as *Irenaeus* saith, *We must fly far off from all Hereticks*. And *Origen* allows the People to separate from their Bishop, *if they could accuse him of false and Heretical Doctrine*.

Basilidem & Martialem libellis Idololatriæ commaculatos — Episcopatum gerere, & Sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Epist. Synod. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 1. p. 200.

Oportet longe fugere ab eis. Lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 63.

Si habueris accusatorem doctrinae pessimae, & alienorum ab Ecclesia Dogmatum. Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.

A third Cause was a scandalous and wicked Life, as is asserted by an *African* Synod held *Anno* 258. whose Exhortations and Arguments to this purpose may be seen at large in their Synodical Epistle, still extant in *Cyprian, Epist.* 68. p. 200. out of which several Passages pertinent to this occasion, have been already cited in the sixth Chapter of this Treatise, to which I must refer the Reader. Of this mind also was *Ire-*

⁴ Qui vero Presbyteri serviunt suis voluptatibus, & non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis; sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, & principalis confessionis tumore elati sunt, & in absconsis agunt mala—ab omnibus talibus abstinere oportet. *Lib. 4. cap. 44. p. 278.*

neus before them, who writes, ⁴ *That as for those Presbyters, who serve their Pleasures, and have not the fear of God before their Eyes, who contumeliously use others, are lifted up with Pride, and secretly commit wickedness, from all such Presbyters we ought to separate.* *Origen* indeed seems to be of a-

nother mind, and thinks that the Bishops Immorality in Life could not justify his Parishes

⁵ Qui curam habet vitæ suæ, non meis delictis qui videor in Ecclesia prædicare scandalizabitur, sed ipsum dogma considerans, & pertractans Ecclesiæ fidem, à me quidem averfabitur, doctrinam vero suscipiet secundum præceptum Domini, qui ait, supra Cathedrali Moysi federunt Scribæ & Pharisei, omnia enim quæcunque vo-

Separation, ⁵ *He, saith he, that hath a care of his Soul, will not be scandalized at my Faults, who am his Bishop, but considering my Doctrine, and finding it agreeable to the Churches Faith, from me indeed he will be averse, but he will receive my Doctrine according to the Precept of the Lord, which saith,*

The

The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses his Chair, whatever therefore they say unto you hear, and do, but according unto their Works do not, for they say and do not : That Scripture is of me, who teach what is good, and do the contrary, and sit upon the Chair of Moses as a Scribe or Pharisee ; the Precept is to thee, O People, if thou canst not accuse me of false Doctrine, or Heretical Opinions, but only beholdest my wicked and sinful Life ; thou must not square thy Life according to my Life,

but do those things which I speak. Now whether Irenæus, or an African Synod, or Origen be to be most credited, I leave the Learned to judge, tho' I think they may be both nearer reconciled than they seem to be, Irenæus and that Synod affirming, that the People of their own Power and Authority might immediately, without the concurrent Assent of other Churches, upon the Immorality and Scandal of their Bishop, leave and desert him ; Origen restraining the People from present Execution, till they had the Authority of a Synod for so doing ; for thus he must be understood, or else he will contradict all other Writers, it being avouched by all, that Synods did depose all those Bishops that were guilty of criminal and scandalous Enormities.

bis dicunt audite & facite, juxta autem opera illorum nolite facere ; dicunt quippe & non faciunt : iste sermo de me est, qui bona doceo, & contraria gero & sum sedens supra cathedram Moyfi quasi Scriba & Phariseus ; præceptum tibi est, O Popule, si non habueris accusationem Doctrinæ pessimæ, & alienorum ab Ecclesia dogmatum, conspexeris vero meam culpabilem vitam, atque peccata, ut non habeas juxta dicentis vitam tuam institueres, sed ea facere quæ loquor. Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.

168 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

as *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambese* was deposed by

° Ob multa & gravia delicta. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 11. p. 140.*

a Synod of Ninety Bishops, for his many and heinous Crimes.

§. 7. But now excepting these three Causes of Apostacy, Heresie and Immorality, it was Schism in a Parish to leave their Minister, or to set up another Bishop against him; for tho' they at first chose their Bishop, yet their Bishop being on their Choice approved and confirmed by the neighbouring Bishops, they could not dethrone him, without truly assigning one of those forementioned Causes; for this was to gather a Church out of a Church, to erect a new Altar and a new Bishop, which could not be in one Church;

° Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una supra Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare & unum Sacerdotium non potest: Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit, adulterum est, impium est, quodcumque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. *Epist. 40. §. 4. p. 93.*

° Neque enim aliunde nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Iudex vice Christi cogitatur. *Epist. 55. §. 6. p. 138.*

for as *Cyprian* writes, 'God is one, Christ is one, the Church is one, the Rock on which the Church is built is one; wherefore to erect a new Altar, and constitute a new Bishop, besides the one Altar and the one Bishop, is impracticable; whosoever gathers here, scatters; so to do is adulterous, impious, sacrilegious, mad and wicked. From hence, says *Cyprian*, Schisms do arise, that the Bishop is not obeyed;

and

and it is not considered that there ought to be, but one Bishop, and one Judge in a Church at a time.

And ¹ this is the Rise and Source of Schismatics, that through their swelling Pride they contemn their Bishop, and so they go off from the Church, so they erect a profane Altar, and so they rebel against the Peace of Christ, and the Ordination and Unity of God. And again, ¹ From thence proceed Schisms, that the Bishop who is but one, and presides over the Church, is contemned by the proud Presumption of Men, and he that was thought worthy by God, is esteemed unworthy by Men. And again, ² The Church is the People united to their Bishop, and the Sheep adhering to their Pastour; the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop; whosoever are not with the Bishop, are not in the Church, and those do

¹ Hi sunt ortus atque conatus Schismaticorum male cogitantium ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant, sic de Ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. Epist. 65. §. 4. p. 193.

¹ Inde Schismata & Hæreses oborta sunt, & turbatur, dum Episcopus qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus indignus hominibus iudicatur. Epist. 69. §. 4. p. 208.

² Illi sunt Ecclesia plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo grex adherens, unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo non sunt, in Ecclesia non esse, & frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus

Dei non habentes obrepunt, & latetitur apud quosdam communicare se credunt, quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & coherentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum gluti-
tis copulata. Epist. 69. §. 7. p. 209.

in vain flatter themselves, who having not Peace with God's Priests, creep about, and privately communicate with some, as they think, when the Catholick Church is not divided, but connexed and coupled together by the Unity of its agreeing Bishops. Whosoever therefore should causelessly desert his Bishop, and solicit others so to do, was a true Schismatick, since in so doing

³ he divided a Portion of the Flock with the Bishop, separated the Sheep from their Pastour, and dissipated the Members of Christ.

Cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere, id est, à pastore oves, & filios à parente separare, & Christi membra dissipare. Epist. 38. §. 1. p. 90.

From these Quotations then it is apparent, that

the Primitive Schism respected only a particular Church, and consisted in a Person's Separation from Communion with his lawful Bishop without a just and authentick Cause; when any one should set up a particular Church in a particular Church, in opposition to the lawful Bishop thereof, and should draw away the Inhabitants of that Parish from the Communion of their legal Minister, setting up distinct Meet-

⁴ Conventicula sibi diversa constituunt. De unitat. Eccles. §. 10. p. 299.

⁵ Μὴ βεβαίως καὶ ἐντολῷ συναθροίσανται. Ad Magnes. p. 32.

⁶ Ὁ ἄδελφός ἐπισκοπῶν πᾶσι παραγγέλλει πρὸς διαβολῆς ἁποστασιάζειν. Epist. ad Smirn. p. 7.

ings and ⁴ Conventicles, as Cyprian calls them. This was true Schism; for as Ignatius says, whosoever so assembled were not congregated legally according to the Command: And ⁶ whosoever officiated without the Bishop, sacrificed to the Devil.

S. 8. This Notion now of Schism gives us a clear Reason, why we find in Ignatius so frequent and Pathetick Injunctions of Obedience to, and Unity with our respective Pastours, of avoiding all Divisions, and closely adhering to them; because a deserting of them, or a separating from them, was a Commission of this horrid and detestable Sin of Schism; as will appear from these following Exhortations and Instructions of his, with which every Leaf almost of his Epistles are fraught and furnished,

All you of the Church of Smirna obey your Bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father, and the Presbytery as the Apostles, and honour the Deacons according to the Command of God. Let nothing of Ecclesiastical Services be done without the Bishop; let that Communion only be esteemed valid, which is performed by the Bishop, or by one permitted by him. Wherever the Bishop is, there let the People be; as where Jesus Christ is, there the Catholick Church is; it is not lawful without the Bishop, or one permitted by him, to baptize or celebrate the Eucharist; this is pleasing unto God, that so whatsoever is done may be firm and Legal.

Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκοπῷ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τῆς ἀποστόλων τῆς ὁ διακόνες ἐν Ἱερουσάλημ. ὡς. Θεῷ ἐν ὁλίῳ. Μὴδεὶς χρεὶς τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἀνεχόντων ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁμολογῶν βεβαία ἐκκλησιαστικά ἡγιασμένα, ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ὁπισκοποῦντος, ἢ ὃς ἀν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτίθειται, ὅπως ἀν φανῇ ὁ ἐπισκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ἡ Χρυσὸς. Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἐκ ἐξουσίας χρεὶς τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ ὅπως βαπτίζειν, ὅπως ἀγάλλω πνεύματι, ἀλλ' ὃς ἀν ἐμὲ ὁ δοκίμαται, ὅπως καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ευχαριστοῦν, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ἢ καὶ βεβαίον πάν ὁ ποιῶνται. Epist. ad Smirn. p. 6.

ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἀντι-
 χροῖ ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑποτασσόμενοι
 τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέ-
 ροις διάκονοις καὶ μετ' αὐ-
 τοῦ μοι το μετ' ἁγίοις
 ᾄδω ἐν Θεῷ. Epist. ad
 Polycarp. p. 14.

ἢ Μὴ ἀντιστάτωμεν τῷ
 ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ἡμεῖς Θεῷ
 ὑποτασσώμεθα. Ad Ephes.
 p. 20.

ἢ Παράκλητος ἐν ὁμοῦν Θεῷ
 συνεκκλησίαν πάντα πρεσβυ-
 τεροῦν ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ
 εἰς τὸν Θεόν καὶ τὴν πρεσ-
 βυτέρων εἰς τὸν συνεκ-
 κλησίαν, καὶ τὴν διακόν-
 των— συνεκκλησίαν δια-
 κόντων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ— μη-
 δὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ διχοτο-
 μίας ὑμᾶς μεμεινέναι ἀλλ'
 ἐνωθῆναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ
 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις— ὡς
 περ ἐν ὁ κύριος ἀνεν τῷ
 πατρὶ καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡν-
 ὡμεθα ὡν ἔτε δι' ἑαυτῶν,
 ἔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἕως
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνδρες ἐν ἐπι-
 σκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις
 καὶ ἐν πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἐν
 πρεσβυτέροις ἐν τῷ πατρὶ
 ἵδωμεν ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ
 αὐτὸ μία συγκλήτος μία
 διήκεις, εἰς πάντας, μία ἐκλή-
 κει. Epist. ad Magnesios,
 p. 33.

ἢ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μεμεινέναι—
 ὡς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐστὶν καὶ
 ὡς πρεσβυτέρων ἀποστόλων,
 πάντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀποστόλοις

Have respect unto your
 Bishop, as God hath re-
 spect unto you. My Soul
 for theirs that obey their
 Bishop, Presbyters and
 Deacons, and with them
 let my part in God be.

Let us not resist our Bi-
 shop, lest we be found Re-
 sistors of God. I exhort
 you to do every thing in the
 Unity of God, the Bishop
 presiding in the place of
 God, and the Presbyters
 in the place of the Coun-
 cil of the Apostles, and
 the Deacons performing
 the intrusted Ministry of
 Jesus Christ; let there
 nothing be in you that
 may divide you, but be u-
 nited to your Bishop and
 Presidents: As therefore
 Christ did nothing without
 the Father, being united to
 him, neither by himself
 nor by his Apostles, so do
 you nothing without the Bi-
 shop and Presbyters, nor
 privately withdraw from
 them, but assemble toge-
 ther, having one Prayer,
 one Supplication, one Mind
 and one Hope. Flee all
 Division; where the Pa-
 stour

flour is, there as Sheep follow, for there are many plausible Wolves, that seek to carry you away, but let them have no place in your Unity—Whoever are God's and Jesus Christ's, they are with the Bishop; and whosoever repenting shall come to the Unity of the Church, those shall be God's, that they may live according to Jesus Christ.

Be not deceived, my Brethren, if any one follows a Schismatick, or one that causeth Division and Separation, he shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. ³ Respect the Bishop,

Presbyters and Deacons, do nothing without the Bishop, Keep your Flesh as the Temple of God, Love Unity, Avoid Schisms, be followers of Jesus Christ, as he was of his Father—Where Division and Wrath is, God dwells not; God therefore pardons all Penitents, if they penitentially return to the Unity of God, and the Presbytery of the Bishop. And some other

such like Expressions there are in the Epistles of this Father, which evidently demonstrate Schism to be nothing else than a causeless Separation from our Parish Bishop or Minister, and a wan-

ιδόντες καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες τοὺς θεοδόξους ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνοσίῃ ὑμῶν ἐκ ἔξουσι πῶπον, ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐτοιμὰ τῷ ὁποῖον εἰσὶν καὶ ὅσα ἀνταναστήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ὅτι τὸ ἐνότητι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐτοιμὰ θεοῦ ἔσονται ἵνα ᾄδωσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ζῶντες. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μου, εἰπερ ᾄδοντες ἀκολουθεῖτε τῇ ἀποστολῇ θεοῦ καὶ κληρονομίᾳ. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

³ Τῇ ὁποῖον πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τῷ πρὸς βουλήν καὶ διακονίαν, χωρίς τῷ ὁποῖον μὴδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε, τὸς μερισμὸς φευγέτω, μὴ μὴ πλανᾶσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὃς δὲ μερισμὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁργή, θεὸς καὶ ἡγεῖται, πᾶσιν ἐν μέλανοςιν ἀγίοις καὶ καθαῖς, ἐάν μετανόησιν εἰς ἐνότητά θεοῦ καὶ σωτέριον τῷ ὁποῖον. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 43.

ding after, or an Adhesion to another false and pretended Pastour.

§. 9. But for the clearer Proof, that this was what the Fathers meant by Schism, it may not be altogether unnecessary to add unto these Quotations an Example or two; for Examples more convincingly instruct than bare Testimonies and Citations. And here let us first view the Schism of *Feliciſſimus* in the Church of *Carthage*, as it is related in the 38th, 40th, and 55th Epistles of *Cyprian*; and we shall find it respecting only that particular Church or Parish. When *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of *Carthage*, *Feliciſſimus* and others of his Faction opposed him, but finding themselves too weak, and not powerful enough to balance his Interest, they yielded to his Promotion, but yet still retained an Hatred against his Person, and waited for a more favourable opportunity and a plausible Pretence to separate from him. It pleased God that *Cyprian* some time after his Advancement, was forced, by reason of the Persecution, to withdraw and absent from his Flock, during which Absence that Faction made use of all means to lessen his Interest, till they had made their Party indifferently strong, and then they broke out into an open Separation from him, forming themselves into a distinct Meeting, creating a new Bishop, erecting a new Altar, and constituting a new Church. Now all this was acted in, and respected only the particular Parish of *Carthage*, without causing or attempting any Separation in any other Church or Parish; and yet this *Cyprian* calls

Schism,

Schism, and Excommunicates the Actors in it, as Schismatics, and Breakers of the Unity of the Church, of his Church Actually, and of all the other Churches of the Church Universal Virtually, who like the Members of the Natural Body, are affected with the Pains and Convulsions of each other.

So also the famous Schism of *Novatian* respected only the particular Church of *Rome*, being no other than his causeless Separation from *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop, and his erecting separate Conventicles against him, as may be read at large in those Epistles of *Cyprian*, that treat of this Affair, and in his Book *De Unitate Ecclesie*.

§. 10. But I foresee an evident Objection against this restrained Notion of Schism, and in particular from the Schism of *Novatian*, which I cannot well pass over without resolving, since the Solution thereof will inform us in the manner, how the Schism of one particular Church did affect other Churches. Now the Subjection may be this: If Schism respected only one particular Church, whence then comes it to pass that we read of *Novatian* Bishops, not only at *Rome*, where that Schism first began, but in several other Churches and Parishes besides? Now to this I answer, That we must distinguish between the Schism and the Hæresie of *Novatian*; had *Novatian* been only guilty of Schism, in all probability, his Schismatical Actions, as well as all other Schisms before, would have ended in the same Church where they began, and have proceed-

ed no farther; but he having once engaged in his Schism, and willing to continue it, that he might have some pretence for those enormous Practices, he accused his Bishop of remitting and loosing the Reins of Discipline, in communicating with *Trophimus*, and others, that had Sacrificed to Idols, as may be amply seen in the 55th Epistle of *Cyprian*; consequently for the Justification of this Accusation, he added this Doctrine, as the Characteristick Dogma of his Party, That the Church had no Power to absolve those who lapsed after Baptism, but were to leave them to the Tribunal of God. This was an Error in Doctrine, injurious to the Mercy of God, and injurious to the Merits of Christ, as *Cyprian* shews at large in his 55th Epistle. Every Error in Doctrine was called Heresie. Accordingly *Novatian* is branded for this as an Heretick; whence the Confessours in their return from his Party, confessed that in adhering to them, [†] they had committed Schisms, and been the Authors of Heresies. And in the same Epistle they call *Novatian* an Heretick, and a Schismatick. So *Cyprian* also accuses the said *Novatian*, ⁶ of heretical Pravity; and calls his Error ⁷ a Schismatical and Heretical Error.

[†] Commississe se Schismata, & hæresis auctores fuisse. *Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 1. p. 104.*

⁵ Schismatico & hæretico homine. *Ibidem §. 3. p. 105.*

⁶ Hæreticæ pravitatis. *Epist. 47. §. 1. p. 107.*

⁷ Schismaticus & hæreticus error. *Epist. 51. §. 2. p. 111.*

So that *Novatian's* Schism was accompanied with Heresie; which, as usual, was called after the Name of its Author; and having many eminent Persons to abet it, and a specious shew of Sanctity and Mortification, it is no wonder that it spreads its self into many other Churches, besides that where it was first hatched; unto which we may also add their Industrious Endeayours to proselyte Men unto their Party.

running about, as *Cyprian* writes, from House to House, and from Town to Town, to gain Companions in their Obstinacy and Error. For many of them really thinking themselves to

* *Ostiatim per multorum domos, vel oppidatim, per quasdam civitates discurrentes, obstinationis suæ & erroris scissi sibi quarant comites. Epist. 41. §. 2. p. 97.*

be in the right, and believing others to be in the wrong, conceived it to be their bounden Duty to leave their Bishop, if he would not leave his Heresie, as they apprehended it to be. And probably several Bishops of the Orthodox, who were the legal Pastours of their respective Parishes, were through their own Ignorance, and those Men's fair Pretences, deluded into the same uncharitable Error with them, Of denying the Lapsed any Pardon. But we need not guess at this as only probable, since we have an Instance of it in *Martian* the lawful Bishop of *Arles*, concerning whom, *Cyprian* writes to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, that he had received Advice from the Bishops of that Province, That *Martian* consistens *Novatiano* se
of

conjuxerit, & à Catholica Ecclesiæ unitate, atque à corporis nostri & Sacerdotii consensione discesserit, tenens Hæreticæ præsumptionis durissimam prævitatem, ut servis Dei poenitentibus & dolentibus, & ad Ecclesiam lachrymis & gemitu & dolore pulsantibus, divinæ pietatis & lenitatis paternæ solatia & subsidia claudantur, nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur vulnerati, sed sine spe pacis & communicationis relictæ ad luporum rapinam & prædæ Diaboli projiciantur. *Epist. 67. §. 1. p. 198.*

of Arles had joyned himself unto Novatian, and had departed from the Unity of the Church, and the Concord of the Bishops, holding that Heretical Severity, that the Consolations of Divine Pity and Fatherly Lenity, should be shut against the penitent and mourning Servants of God, who knock at the Church with Tears, Sighs and Groans, so that the wounded are not admitted to have their Wounds healed, but being left without any hope of Peace or Communion, are thrown out to the

Rapine of Wolves, and Prey of the Devil.

So that it was not Novatian's Schism, but his Heresie, that was diffused through other Churches; his Schism respected only his own Church, but his Heresie, which was a Breach of the Unity of the Church Universal, respected other Churches also; so that in answer to the forenamed Objection, we need only say this, That there was no such thing as the Objection supposes; that is, that there were no Bishops or Followers of Novatian's Schism in other Churches, but that those that were discriminated by his Name, were the Bishops and Followers of his Heresie.

But

But however let us suppose the worst, viz. That all Schismaticks had been Orthodox and found in every Point of Faith, had been exemplary and pious in the discharge of every Duty, had been guilty of no Crime but their Schism from their Bishop and Parish, and yet their Schism might have influenced other Churches and Parishes too, and that I think these two ways.

1. If one or more Churches had admitted to Communion those that were Excommunicated by their own Church for Schism, that Church or Churches made themselves Partakers of those Mens Crimes, and involved themselves in the same Guilt of Division and Schism with them, as *Martian*, Bishop of *Arles*, was adjudged by *Cyprian* as a Schismatick, 'Because he had

joined with Novatian, when he had been before Excommunicated. I do

not here mean, that a Bishop or Parish to make themselves guilty, should actually or personally communicate with the Author of the Schism himself, much less in the Church where he began his Schism, but it was enough if they joyned with his Legates or Messengers, or any of his Followers in any Church whatsoever; and therefore

neither an *African Sy-*

tans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hinc sententiam retulerit, se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari. *Cypr. Ep. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

Cum Novatianus ipse, quem sequitur, olim absentus & hostis Ecclesiæ judicatus sit. *Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

Et cum ad nos in Africanam legatos misisset, optentiam retulerit, se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari. *Cypr. Ep. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

nod,

178 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

* Cum Novatiano te
non communicare. *Idem*
Epist. 52. S. 1. p. 113.

† Felicissimum rejectum.
à te illic esse. *Cyprian.*
Epist. 55. S. 1. p. 137.

to Rome; but as he was excluded from Com-
munion in his own Church, so likewise was he
in that of Rome.

2. It was the Custom when any Bishop was
Elected, to send News of his Promotion to

* Tuas literas legimus.
Cyprian. *Epist.* 42. S. 1.
p. 99.

the Bishop of that Church, to which he was
promoted, might be directed unto him, as

* Literas nostras ad te
direximus. *Cyprian.* *E-*
pist. 42. S. 1. p. 99.

Advancement to the Episcopal Throne, was
also observed by the Schismatics, and in par-

* Venerunt ad nos, mis-
si à Novatiano Maxi-
mus Presbyter & Au-
gendus Diaconus, &
Machæus quidam, &
Longinus. *Cyprian.* *E-*
pist. 41. S. 1. p. 96.

nod, nor * *Antonius an*
African Bishop, would
communicate with the Le-
gates of Novatian. Nor

would † *Cornelius join in*
Communion with Felicit-
simus a Schismatick of
Carthage, when he came

other Bishops, as * *Cor-*
nelius did to *Cyprian,*
that so he might have
their Confirmation, and
their future Letters to

* *Cyprian* did unto *Cor-*
nelius; which Custom of
sending Messengers to o-
ther Churches, to ac-
quaint them of their

Episcopal Throne, was
also observed by the Schismatics, and in par-
ticular by *Novatian,* who

† *sent Maximus a Pres-*
byter, Augendus a Dea-
con, Machæus and Lon-
ginus unto Cyprian, to
inform him of his Pro-
motion to the See of
Rome.

Rome. Now if any Bishop or Church did knowingly approve the Pretensions of the Schismatical Bishop, they broke the Concord of the Church, and became guilty of Schism, as may be gathered from the beginning of an Epistle of Cyprian's to *Antonius* an African Bishop, wherein he

writes him, *' That he had received his Letter, which firmly consented to the Concord of the Sacerdotal Colledge, and adhered to the Catholick Church, by which he had signified, that he would not communicate with Novatian, but hold an Agreement with Bishop Cor-*

' Accepi literas tuas, concordiam collegii Sacerdotalis firmiter obtinentes & Catholicae Ecclesiae cohaerentes, quibus significasti cum Novatiano te non communicare, sed cum Cornelio Coepiscopo nostro animum tenere consensum. Epist. 52. §. 1. p. 113.

nelius. And therefore when Legates came to Cyprian, both from *Cornelius* and *Novatian*, he duly weighed who was legally Elected; and finding *Cornelius* so to be, he approved his Election; *' Direct-*

ed his Congratulatory Letters unto him, ' refused to communicate with the Schismatical Messengers of Novatian, ' and exhorted them to quit their Schism, and to submit to their lawfully elected Bishop.

' Literas nostras ad te direximus. Epist. 42. §. 1. p. 99.

' A communicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus. Epist. 41. §. 1. p. 96.

' Nec mandare desistimus, ut pernicioſa diffensione deposita — agnoscant, Episcopo semel

facto, alium constitui nullo modo posse. Ibid. §. 2. p. 97.

So that in these two respects, the Schism of a particular Church might influence others also, involving them in the same Crime, creating Quarrels and Dissensions between their respective Bishops, and so dividing the Dischargers of that Honourable Office, whom God had made one; for as Cyprian says,

* Cum sit à Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. *Epist.* 52. §. 16. p. 119.

As there is but one Church throughout the whole World, divided into many Members; so there is but one Bishoprick diffused through the agreeing Number of many Bishops.

§. 11. But now that we may conclude this Chapter, the Sum of all that hath been spoken concerning Schism, is, that Schism in its large Sense, was a Breach of the Unity of the Church Universal; but in its usual and restrained Sense of a Church Particular, whosoever without any just reason, through Faction, Pride and Envy, separated from his Bishop, or his Parish Church, he was a true Schismatick; and whosoever was thus a Schismatick, if we may believe Saint Cyprian,

* Alienus est — habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem; tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluatur. *De Unit. Eccles.* §. 5. & 12. p. 297. & 300.

He had no longer God for his Father, nor the Church for his Mother, but was out of the Number of the Faithful; and though he should die for the Faith, yet should he never be saved.

This

Thus much then shall serve for that Query, concerning the Churches Unity. The next and last thing that is to be enquired into, is the Worship of the Primitive Church; that is, the Form and Method of their Publick Services, of Reading, Singing, Preaching, Praying, of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper; of their Fasts and Feasts; of their Rites and Ceremonies, and such like, which I thought to have annexed to this Treatise; but this being larger than I expected, and the Discourse relating to the Primitive Worship being like to be almost as large, I have for this and some other Reasons, reserved it for a particular Tract by its self; which, if nothing prevents, may be expos'd hereafter to publick View and Observation.

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T H E
S E C O N D P A R T
O F T H E
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E

Constitution, Discipline,
Unity & Worship,
O F T H E

Primitive Church,

That Flourish'd within the first
Three Hundred Years after
C H R I S T.

Faithfully Collected out of the Ex-
tant Writings of those Ages.

By an Impartial Hand.

Printed in the Year 1712.

**The Second Part of the Enquiry
into the Constitution, Disci-
pline, Unity, and Worship of
the Primitive Church.**

C H A P. I.

- §. 1. *Of the Publick Worship of the Primitive Church.* §. 2. *In their Assemblies they began with Reading the Scriptures. Other Writings Read besides the Scriptures.* §. 3. *Who Read the Scriptures, from whence they were Read, and how they were Read.* §. 4. *Whether there were appointed Lessons.* §. 5. *After the Reading of the Scriptures, there followed Singing of Psalms.* §. 6. *What Psalms they Sung.* §. 7. *The manner of their Singing.* §. 8. *Of Singing Men, and of Church Musick.* §. 9. *To Singing of Psalms succeeded Preaching. On what the Preacher discoursed : How long his Sermon was.* §. 10. *The Method of their Sermons.* §. 11. *Who Preached; usually the Bishop, or by his Permission, any other, either Clergyman or Layman.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in a former Treatise enquired into the Constitution, Discipline, and Unity of the Primitive Church; I intend in this to enquire into the Worship thereof, which naturally divides itself into these Two Parts, Into the Worship its self, and, Into the necessary Circumstances thereof, as Time and Place, and such like; both which I design to handle, beginning first with the Worship its self, wherein I shall not meddle with the Object thereof, since all Protestants agree in the Adoring God alone through Jesus Christ, but only speak of those Particular Acts and Services, whereby in the Publick Congregations we honour and adore Almighty God, such as Reading of the Scriptures, Singing of Psalms, Preaching, Praying, and the Two Sacraments, every one of which I shall consider in their Order, as they were performed in the Ancient Parish Churches. And First,

§ 2. When the Congregation was assembled, the first Act of Divine Service, which they performed, was the Reading of the Holy Scriptures. In our Publick Assemblies, says

¹ Scriptura leguntur, Psalmi canuntur, adlocutiones proferuntur, & Petitiones delegantur. De Anima, c. 3. p. 530.

Tertullian, 'The Scriptures are Read, Psalms Sung, Sermons Preached, and Prayers presented. So also Justin Martyr writes, that in their Religious Assemblies, first of all,

² Τα ὑμνηματα καὶ τὰ ὑμναῖα καὶ τὰ ὑμναῖα καὶ τὰ ὑμναῖα καὶ τὰ ὑμναῖα. Apolog. 2. p. 98.

'The Writings of the Prophets and Apostles were read.

But

But besides the Sacred Scriptures, there were other Writings read in several Churches, viz. The Epistles and Tracts of Eminent and Pious Men, such as the Book of ³ *Hermas*, called *Pastor*, and ⁴ the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus* to the Church of Corinth, which were read in the publick Congregations of many Churches.

³ Ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν ἀπὸ Πάπμου-
ιδίου. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 3.
p. 72.

⁴ Ταύτων καὶ ἐν πλείαις ἐκκλησίαις ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ Πάπμουσιδίου. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 88.

§. 3. He that read the Scriptures, was particularly destinated to this Office, as a Preparative to Holy Orders, as *Aurelius*, whom *Cyprian* design'd for a Presbyter, ⁵ was first to begin with the Office of reading. The Name by which this Officer was distinguished, was in Greek, ⁶ ἀναγνώστης. In Latin, ⁷ *Lector*, both which signify in English, a Reader, or as we now call him, a *Clark*. The Place from whence the *Clark* Read, was an Eminency erected in the Church, that so all the People might see and hear him, which was called ⁸ *Pulpitum*, or a *Pulpit*, from which Pulpit he read the Scriptures alone, and not others alternatively with him; it being his Office only to Read, whilst the Congregation listened to him, as *Cyprian* writes, that *Celerinus* a

⁵ Placuit ut ab Officio lectionis incipiat. Epist. 33. p. 77.

⁶ Just. Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 98.

⁷ Tertul. de Prescript. advers. Hæret. p. 89.

⁸ Cyprian. Epist. 33. p. 77. & Epist. 34. §. 4. p. 81.

² Plebī Universa— legat Præcepta & Evangelium Domini. *Epist.* 34. §. 4. p. 81.

fore when this Duty

² Παντοῦ τοῦ ἀναγιγνωσκῶ. Justin. *Martyr.* Apolog. 2. p. 98.

§. 4. How much the Lector read at a Time is uncertain, since they varied according to the Circumstances of their Condition. So writes

² Cogimur ad literarum divinarum Commemorationem, siquid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. *Apolog.* cap. 39. p. 709.

³ Μέχρι ὅσον. *Apolo-* log. 2. p. 98.

ended, then followed the Singing of *Psalms*. So

⁴ Scripturæ leguntur, Psalmi canuntur. *De Anim.* cap. 3. p. 530.

Christians Service, who, as *Pliny* writes, met to-

⁵ Carmen Christo, quasi Deo dicere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

Raptures of Praise and Adoration, and to raise a Pious Soul into greater Degrees of Admiration of God's Love and Bounty, whence such a Soul

Lector, ² Read the Law and the Gospel to all the People. *Celerinus* only read, whilst all the People attended; and therefore when this Duty was ended, it is described only ³ by the Lectors ceasing to Read, and not by the Peoples ceasing to do.

Tertullian, that ² they Read the Scriptures according to the Quality of their present Times. And to the same purpose says *Justin Martyr*, that the Clerk read, ³ until it was sufficient.

§. 5. When the Reading of the Scriptures was ended, then followed the Singing of *Psalms*. So says *Tertullian*, ⁴ The Scriptures are Read, and *Psalms* Sung. This was a considerable Part of the Christians Service, who, as *Pliny* writes, met together before Day, ⁵ to sing an Hymn to Christ, it being useful to elevate the Mind in Heavenly

Soul is described by *Clemens Alexandrinus*,
 * to be continually Blessing,
 Praising, Singing and pre-
 senting Hymns to God the
 Lord of all, being assist-
 ed by the Holy Spirit of
 God, † without whose Aid
 it was impossible to Sing ei-
 ther in good Rhyme, Tune,
 Metre or Harmony.

* Αἱ αἰνῶσι, ὑμνοῦσι,
 εὐλογῶσι, ψάλλουσιν. *Stro-*
mat. lib. 6. p. 483.

† Οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ καὶ ἐν ῥυθ-
 μῷ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ ᾠδῇ
 ᾄδουσιν καὶ ὑμνοῦσιν ὁ
 πατήρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἐν
 τῷ πνεύματι, &c. *Ori-*
gen. de Orat. §. 6. p. 7.

The Christians in those
 Days condemned only
 the debauched Bacchanalian Singing and Roar-
 ing, but commended the Blessing and Praising of
 God, * by Thanksgiving
 and Singing of Psalms. In-
 asmuch that it was made
 one Characteristick Di-

* Δι' ὑπομενῶν καὶ ψαλ-
 μῶν. *Clem. Alex. Pro-*
tag. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121.

stinction of a Christian: As *Tertullian* inveighs
 against the Marriage of a Believing Woman
 with an Infidel, because thereby she would be
 hindered from discharging the Ordinances of the
 Gospel, amongst which he enumerates Singing
 of Psalms; for then, says
 he, † What would her Hus-
 band sing to her? or, What
 would she sing to her Hus-
 band? And a little after

* Quid maritus suus il-
 li? Vel marito quid il-
 la cantabit? *Ad Uxor.*
lib. 2. p. 431.

he describes the happy Condition of that Cou-
 ple, who were both Christians, in that they did
 both joyn together in, and exhort one another
 to, the vigorous Performance of God's Wor-
 ship, † Psalms and Hymns

* Sonant inter duos Psal-
 mi & Hymni, & mutuo provocant, quis melius Deo suo
 canet? *Ibidem, p. 433.*

private composing. So writes *Tertullian*, that after the Celebration of the Lord's Supper,

Every one Sung an Hymn out of the Bible, or of his own composing. As for the Singing of *David's Psalms*, the same Father particularly mentions the 133d Psalm, as Sung in his Days, *O how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity: This thou canst not easily sing, unless when thou suppest with many.* As for the Hymns that were of Private Men's Com-

Quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio provocatur in medium Deo canere. Apolog. c. 39. p. 710.

Vide quam bonum & quam jucundum habitare Fratres in unum: Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas. Advers. Præp. eos de Jejunio. p. 650.

position, it was one of the Accusations of *Pamilius Samosatenus*, the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, that he abolished those Psalms, which were wont to be Sung to the Honour of the Lord Jesus Christ, as Novel, and composed by Modern Authors, and that he appointed Women on Easter Day, in the middle of the Church, to sing Psalms in his Praise.

Ὑμνοὶ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Κληρῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντας, ὡς ὁ νεώτερος & νεώτερον ἀνδρῶν συγγραμμάτων εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ μετὰ τὴν πύλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν. Act. Concil. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 281.

And in the Fragment of an Anonymous Author extant in *Eusebius*, we find the Heresy of *Artemon*, who denied the Divinity of Christ, confuted, not only by the Scriptures, and the Writings of the precedent Fathers,

⁷ Παλιὰ ἡ ὥσις ἡ ὡδὴ
ἀδύσῳ· ὁ παλαιὸς δὲ ἡ
ὡδὴ γὰρ παλαιὰ ἡ ἀδύσῳ τῷ
δὲ ἡ χερσὶν ὑμνοῦσι δὲ
ἀδύσῳ. Libi 5. cap.
28. p. 196.

Fathers, but also, ⁷ by the
Psalms and Hymns of the
Brethren, which were for-
merly composed by them,
wherein they praised Christ
by making him a God.
Such a private composed

Hymn was that which *Clement Alexandrinus*
mentions, as one commonly known among the
Christians in his Days, beginning *passion*, or
Hail Light. *Protreptic*. p. 52.

§. 7. As for the manner of the Primitive Sing-
ing, it was ⁸ in good Tune,
and Concert, all the Peo-
ple bearing a part in it;
but whether all together,

or Antiphonally, cannot well be determined,
every Country probably following its own
Mode, Singing only in General being command-
ed, not the particular manner or fashion of it.

In a Precedent ⁹ Quota-
tion mention is made of
Singing, in Concert, *an-*
chor, or with Voices altogether. In other Places
the Alternative Method of Singing seems ex-
pressly to be used; as *Pliny* writes, That the
Christians in his time, met together before Day,

to Sing an Hymn to
Christ by course, or, one
against another. And so
in that forecited Passage
of *Tertullian*, ² What will
an Unbelieving Husband
sing to a Believing Wife?

² Carmen Christo dice-
re secum invicem. *Epist.*
ad Trojan.

³ Quid Maritus singit il-
li? Vel maritus cū il-
la cantabit? *Ad Rom.*
lib. 2. p. 433.

Or what will a Believing Wife sing to an Unbelieving Husband?

§. 8. As for Singing Men and Singing Women, I find that *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, abolished the old usual Hymns, and ³ appointed

certain Women on Easter Day in the middle of the Church to sing Psalms in his Praise. But whether these Singing Women were first Instituted by this Heretical Bishop, or were before his Time, I cannot tell.

³ Εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας τῆς μεσότητος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡλικιωμένων γυναικῶν ψαλμοὺς ἀδοξολογῶν. Ἀπὸ Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 281.

As for Church-Musick, for Organs, and the like, those Primitive Ages were wholly ignorant of them; for it cannot rationally be conceived, that in those Days of continual Persecution or Violence, they could either use or preserve them; all that they look'd after, was to Sing ⁴ in Rhyme, Metre, Tune and Concord, to offer up unto God the Praises of their Voices, Lips and Mouths, which *Clement Alexandrinus* thinks, was Emblemized or shadowed forth by those Musical Instruments mentioned in the 150th Psalm, where, saith he,

⁴ Ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ ὁμῳίᾳ, καὶ συμφωνίᾳ. Origen. de Oratione, §. 6. p. 7.

We are commanded to praise God on the Psaltery, that is, on the Tongue, because the Tongue is the

⁵ Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ, ὅτι ἡ γλῶττις τῆς ψαλτηρίου κυλίσσεται, καὶ ἐν κυλίσσει αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν κυδῶν τοῦ στόματος — αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμῷ, κυμβαλὸν τῷ σέματι — ὅτι γλῶττις λέγει, ἢ τοῖς προέμοις ἐπιχαίρει χαίρει. Paddag. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121.

Psaltery

22 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

Psalmody of the Lord; and to praise him on the Harp, by which we must understand the Mouth; and to praise him on the loud sounding Cymbals, by which the Tongue is to be understood, which sounds or speaks through the knocking or collision of the Lips.

§. 9. When the Singing of Psalms was ended, then succeeded the Preaching of the Word.

So writes Tertullian; *Scripturae leguntur, Psalmi canuntur, ad Instructiones profertur. De Anima, c. 3. p. 530.*

For the Subject of the Preacher's Sermon, it was usually a Commentary or Explication of the Lessons that were just before read. So it was in the Time and Country of Justin Martyr, who writes, that

Παραθετοὺς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἡμετέρας διὰ λόγου τῆς καθήκουσας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ποιῆσαι. Apostol. 2. p. 98.

Τὰς αἰς τὰ ἀναγινώσκουσιν, διηγεῖται. Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 142.

whosoever reads them will easily see; and he himself intimates as much in several of them.

Homil. de Engastrym. And Homil. 17. in Jerem.

As for the Length of their Sermons, they usually

usually preach'd an Hour, as *Origen* complains of his abundance of Matter, that if he should thoroughly handle every part of it, it would require not only the one Hour of their Assembly, but several. Therefore when the Lessons were long and copious, which sometimes consisted of several Chapters, as the Lesson which was the Subject of *Origen's* 14th Homily on *Jeremiah*, reached from the 15th Chapter and 10th Verse, to the 17th Chapter and 5th Verse. The Preacher pass'd over some of the Matter unmentioned, and handled the most important, or the most curious part therein. Thus in the beginning of a Sermon of *Origen's*, we find, that the Chapters that were read, were the 25, 26, 27, and 28th Chapters of the first Book of *Samuel*, which he complains were too large and copious to be all handled at once, and therefore he would only discourse of the 28th Chapter, touching the Witch of Endor, and those things related there concerning her.

6 *Ὁρὶς ἐ μὲς συνάξει, ἀλλὰ ἢ πλείων.* Homil. de Engalt. p. 29.

7 *Τὰ ἀναγινώσκτα πλείονα ἐστὶν ὅν ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ συναγωγή.* Homil. de Engalt. p. 28, 29.

§. 10. As for the manner of their Sermons, we may observe this Method in those of *Origen's*, that he first began with a short *Exordium*, and then explained Verse after Verse, or Sentence after Sentence, shewing the Natural and Literal Signification of the Words, and then the Spiritualized or Mystical meaning of them, and concluded with a suitable Application

on

14 The Ministry, Ceremonies, &c.

ἡ Προσέλευσις ἰδὼ δὲ τὴν
 οὐκ ἔχουσαν διδασκαλίαν ἐκ
 τῆς Προσέλευσις δ' ἔστι τὸ καλῶς
 ἀκούειν τὸ διῶν καὶ παύσαι
 ὅσα δ' ὁρῶν λόγον πρὸς
 τοὺς ἀκούοντες. Origen. contra
 Cell. lib. 3. p. 142.

Ἔτι τοιούτων ἐν τοῖς
 ἀκούουσιν τὸ κοινὸν διαλόγους
 ἔχειν εἰς μέσον ὅς ἐστι
 ῥῆμα συνετῶν ἀκροατῶν,
 ἀκούοντων καὶ ὁδοῦ
 πρὸς τὴν βαδύνειαν τῶν
 ἀποστόλων, καὶ διὰ τὴν
 ἀδύναμιν τῶν ἀκούοντων
 ἀκούειν πάντα. Idem, ibi-
 dem, p. 143.

dealed from them those deep and recondite
 Points.

§. 11. As for the Preacher himself, it was
 usually the Bishop of the Parish. So saith Ju-
 stin Martyr, ¹ The Bi-

Ἦ οὐκ ἀρετὴς δὲ λόγου
 τῶν πεδιστῶν καὶ περὶ
 τῶν καλῶν τούτων
 ἀκούειν ποιεῖται. Apolog.
 2. p. 98.

on of all, either ¹ by way
 of Exhortation to Piety
 and Virtue; or by way of
 Deboration from Pice and
 Impiety. Always accom-
 modating their Dis-
 courses to the Capacities of
 their Hearers. ² If their
 Auditors were prudent and
 understanding, then they
 scrupled not to treat of the
 profound Mysteries of the
 Gospel; but if they had
 attained no great measure
 of Knowledge, and had
 need of Milk, as the Apo-
 stle stiles it, then they con-

shop Preaches by way of In-
 struction and Exhortation,
 to the Imitation of those
 excellent things which we
 read. Or else he desired

a Presbyter, or some other fit Person to preach
 in his room; without his Consent it had been
 Schism and Violence in any Person whatsoever
 to have usurped his Chair, but with his Per-
 mission any Clergyman or Layman might Preach
 in his Pulpit. Now that Clergymen Preach'd;
 no one will question, though it will be doubt-
 ed,

ed, whether Laymen did : But that they did so, ap-
pears from a memorable History concerning *Ori-
gen*, who going from *Alexandria* into *Palestina*,
by the Desire of the Bishops of that Country,
publickly Preach'd in the Church, and expound-
ed the Holy Scriptures, although he was not
yet in Holy Orders. At which Action, when
Demetrius Bishop of *Alexandria* was offended,
Alexander Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theodotus*
of *Casarea* writ to him in defence of it as fol-
lows, * *Whereas you write*

in your Letter, that it was never before seen or done, That Laymen should preach in the presence of Bishops, therein you wander from the Truth; for wheresoever any are found, that are fit to profit the Brethren, the Holy Bishops of their own accord ask them to Preach unto the People. So Evelpis was desired by Neon Bishop of Laranda, and Paulinus by Celsus of Iconium, and Theodorus by Articus of Synnada, our most blessed Brethren; and it is credible, that this is likewise done in other

Places, though we know it not. But yet though Laymen Preach'd, it was not every one that did so, but only those, that were ἀγγέλοι τοῦ τοῦ ἀρεαίου τοῦ ἀλλοῦ, fit to profit the Brethren ;

and

2 Περσίδηνκα ἡ τοῖς γεγέ-
 μασι, ὅτι ταῦτο ἐδύπολε π-
 κέδην ἐδὲ νῦν γαγνήσας,
 τὸ παρὲν ἔστι καὶ πῶν
 λαῖπες ὁμολαι, ὅτι διδ' ὅ-
 πως ἀφρατῶς ἐκ ἀλλὰ
 λέγων, ὅτι γὰρ εὐείσκει-
 ται ἐν ὁππῆδισι φέρει τὸ
 ἀφρατῶν τὸν ἐδύπολε, ἡ
 ἀφρατῶν καὶ τὸ λαῖπες
 ὁμολαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφρα-
 τῶν καὶ πῶν, ὅπως ἡ ἀφ-
 ρατῶν ἐκλαῖπες ὑπὸ Νέ-
 ρου, ἡ ἐν Ἰονίῳ Περ-
 σίδην καὶ τὸν Κέλευ, ἡ ἐν
 Σουδάδῃ Θεόδωρου καὶ
 Ἀττινῇ τῶν μακεδόνων ἀ-
 δελφῶν, οἷος ἡ ἐν ἀλ-
 λαις τόποις τῶτο γινώσκει,
 ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐν δέναι. Α-
 pud Euseb. lib. 6. cap.
 19. p. 222.

and though they were never so fit, yet they did not irregularly or disorderly run about a Preaching, or discharge that Sacred Office, till *they were desired by the Bishop of a Parish to do it,* and ἀποσταλῆναι τῷ λαῷ ἀποστολῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, but stayed for the Permission and Approbation of such an one; for without that, their Sermons and Discourses would have been but so many Acts of Schism and Faction.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. After Preaching all the Congregation rose up to join in Publick Prayers: §. 2. They prayed towards the East. Their Reasons for that Custom. §. 3. They lifted up their Hands and Eyes towards Heaven. §. 4. Whether the Minister that Officiated wore a Surplice, and therein of Ministers Habits. §. 5. Whether they Sung their Prayers, and whether they used Responsals. §. 6. Of prescribed Liturgies. The Lord's Prayer not always, but commonly used by them. §. 7. To the Lord's Prayer they added other Prayers of their own Choice or Invention, provided so to have been. §. 8. Whether their Prayers were divided into several Col-
lects.

§. 1. **A**S soon as the Sermon was ended, then all the Congregation rose up to present their Common and Publick Prayers unto Almighty God, as *Justin Martyr* writes, that when the Preacher had finished his Discourse, *They all rose up; and offered their Prayers unto God.* Standing being the usual Posture of Praying (at least the con-

Ἐπειτα ἀνίσταμεθα καὶ ὅν πάντες, καὶ εὐχαρι-
στούμεν. Apolog. 2. p.
98.

stant one on *Sundays*, on which Day they esteemed it a Sin to kneel) whence the Preacher frequently concluded his Sermon with an Exhortation to his Auditors, to stand up and pray to God, as we find it more than once in the

Ἄνδρες ἀγαπῶντες τὸν καὶ
 θεὸν βοηθεῖν ἀντιπροσώπων
 ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μακά-
 ριστον, ᾧ ἡ δόξα ἐστὶν
 τοῖς αἰῶνας ᾧ ἀμήν.
 Apul. Hom. 19. in
 Jerem. Vol. I. p. 198.

Quapropter confur-
 gentes deprecemur Do-
 minum, ut digni effici-
 mur—Christo Jesu, cui
 est Gloria & Imperium
 in Sæcula Sæculorum.
 Amen. Homil. 2. in Can-
 tic.

Surgentes per Chri-
 stum Sacrificia Patri Of-
 feramus, ipse enim pro-
 pitiationis est pro peccatis
 nostris, cui est Gloria &
 Imperium in Sæcula Sæ-
 culorum. In Isaiam. Ha-
 mil. 1.

Conclusion of Origen's
 Sermons, as, 'Where-
 fore standing up, let us
 beg help from God, that
 we may be blessed in Je-
 sus Christ, to whom be
 Glory for ever and ever,
 Amen. And, where-
 fore rising up, let us pray
 to God, that we may be
 made worthy of Jesus
 Christ, to whom be Glory
 and Dominion for ever and
 ever, Amen. And again,
 Standing up, let us offer
 Sacrifices to the Father
 through Christ, who is the
 Propitiation for our Sins,
 to whom be Glory and Do-
 minion for ever and ever,
 Amen.

§. 2. Accordingly the
 whole Congregation stood up, and turned their
 Faces towards the East, it being their Custom
 and Manner to pray towards that Quarter, as
 Tertullian writes, 'We
 pray towards the East.
 Now the Reasons that I
 meet with for this Usage,
 may be reduced to these Three or Four.

I. Out of Respect and Reverence to their
 Lord and Master Jesus Christ, they prayed to-
 wards the East, because the East is a Title gi-
 ven to Christ in the Old Testament; for that
 Place

Place in *Zach. 6. 12.* *Behold the Man whose Name is the Branch;* they Translated according to the Septuagint, *Behold the Man whose Name is the East,* which misapprehension of the Word *Branch*, arose from the different Significations or Applications of the Greek Word, by which the Septuagint expressed it. In the Original Hebrew the Word is *נֶחֱמָץ*, which signifies an arising or sprouting out, as doth a Branch from a Root. The Word by which they rendred it in Greek, is *ἀνατολή*, which in a large Sense comprehends all sorts of arising and springing out; but strictly and generally is apply'd to the arising and first appearing of the Sun, and by a Metonymy, is appropriated to the East, because the Sun arises in that Quarter. The Fathers therefore not knowing the Original, and finding Christ to be called in their Ordinary Version *ἀνατολή*, presently concluded, that according to the usual signification of the Word, he was there termed by the Prophet, *The East*, whom they conceived to be so called, because

⁷ he was to arise like a Star: And, ⁸ as the Sun that arises in the East penetrates thro' the World with its warm and illuminating Rays; So Christ the Sun of Righteousness would

⁹ *Ὅτι ὡς ἄστρον ἔμελλεν ἀνατίλλειν.* Idem, Ibidem, p. 334.

¹⁰ *Πυρρῶτερος ὃ αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' ἀληθείας καὶ σοφίας λόγος καὶ φωτεινότερος μάλιστα ἢ ἡλίου δυνάμεων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐκδύνας, ἄθεν καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ἥλιον ἀνατελεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἀνατελεῖ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.* Ib. Ibid. p. 350.

arise with more Warmth and Light, and pierce farther than the material Sun, even into the Depths of Mens Hearts and Minds. Hence the East is

called by *Tertullian*, 'A Type of Christ, and for this Reason we may very well suppose, that they pray-

ed towards the East, as well as built their Churches toward it, which that they did, we shall shew in its proper place.

II. Another Reason might be with respect to the Similitude of the Rising of the Sun, with our Spiritual arising out of the Darkness of Sin and Corruption, which I find thus express'd by

Clemens Alexandrinus,

Ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει τῆς ἐκείνης ἡ ἀνατολὴ καὶ ἡ δύσις τοῦ φωτός αὐξάνει ἐν σκοτίᾳ λαμβάνει τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ λαθεύουσιν ἀπέπειρα γνώσεις ἀληθείας ἡμεῖς καὶ λόγον τῆς ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαρίστηται καὶ τὰ παλαιότερα τῶν ἱερῶν πρὸς δύσιν ἔβλεπον ἵνα οἱ ἀπαισι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀγαλμάτων ἱστάμενοι πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τρέψαντες διδασκάνται. *Stromat. lib. 7. p. 520.*

'Let Prayers be made towards the East, because the East is the Representation of our Spiritual Nativity: As from thence Light first arose, shining out of Darkness; so according to that Rising of the Sun, the Day of true Knowledge arose on those, who lay buried in Ignorance; whence the ancient Temples looked towards the West, that so they who

stood against the Images therein, might be forced to look towards the East.

III. *Origen* advises to pray towards the Eastern Climate, to denote our Diligence in the Service of God, in being more forward to arise and set about it, than the Sun is to run his daily Course,

Course, for which he produces an Apocryphal Text, *Wisdom* 16. 28.

¹ That it might be known, that we must prevent the Sun to give thee thanks, and at the Day-spring pray unto thee.

² Παρὶ τῆς κλίματης ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ Σολομώντος, ὅπως γινώσκῃς ὅτι διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πλεον ἐπ' ευχαριστίας σου, καὶ περὶ ανατολῆς φωτὸς ἐν-τυγχάνειν σοι. De Oratione, §. 20. p. 127.

IV. Another Reason for their praying towards the East, was their Opinion of the Excellency of this Quarter above others, which Argument Origen thus delivers, as well as I can Translate it. ³ Whereas there are

four Climates, the North and South, the West and East, who will not acknowledge that we ought to pray looking towards the East, Symbolically representing thereby, our Souls beholding the arising of the true Light? If a Man, which way soever the Doors of his House are placed, would rather make his Prayers towards the Windows, saying, That the light of the

³ Τεσσάρων δὲ ὄντων κλίματων, ὅτε πρὸς ἄρκτον, καὶ μεσημέριαν καὶ ὅτε πρὸς δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολήν, τίς ἐκ αὐτῶν ἐμολογήσεται πρὸς ἀνατολήν ἐνεργῶς ἐμφαίνειν το δῆν ἐκεῖ νεύοντας συμβολικῶς, ὡς τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνορέσκει τῇ αληθινῇ φωτὶ ἀνατῆναι, ποιεῖται τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς διὰ τίς ἐπεδῆπτε ἐπὶ θυρῶν τῆς οἴκου ἑλκυσθῆναι μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἀνεωγὸς τῆς οἰκίας προσφύγειν τὰς ἐνδοξάς, λέγων τὴν εἰς τὸ ἔρανον ὅψιν ἔχειν π μᾶλλον προσκαλεσθῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ὄντι.

τὸ πύχον ὀφθαλμοῦ, εἰ πύχον μὴ διανεωγῶν τῆς οἴκου τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι θέσει ἐπὶ οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς τὰς κλίματας, ἢ τὰς διανοιζομένων, φύσει δὲ τῇ ἀνατολῇ. καὶ λοιπὸν προσκαλεσθῶν κλίματων, τὸ φύσει τῇ θέσει προσκατεῖται ἄλλῃ καὶ ὁ ἐν πύχῃ εὐχαδοῦναι βεβημένῳ, π μᾶλλον καὶ τέτον ἢ ὅτι δὲ σὺν προσευχῇ, εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ προσκατεῖται τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὸ ἑλκυσθῆναι, διὰ τὸ εἰς πάντα καὶ ποιητέον. De Oratione, §. 21. p. 133, 134.

Sky hath something more peculiar in it, to stir up his Affection, than his looking against a Wall. Or if it so happen, that the Windows of his House do not look towards the East, that happened from the Arbitrary Structure of the Builder, but not from Nature, which prefers the East before the other Quarters, and Nature is to be preferred before that Building. Or if any one will pray in the open Field, will he not pray rather towards the East, than towards the West? And if in these things the East is preferred before the West, why is it not so also in every other thing besides?

For these four Reasons now, but principally I suppose for the first, they usually prayed towards the East, inasmuch that for their Worshiping towards this Quarter, and for their Religious Observation of the Lord's Day, or Sunday, so called, because Dedicated to the Sun, they

* Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis Regionem precari. Tertul. Apol. 16. p. 688.

† were accused by the Heathens of Reverencing and Adoring the Sun.

§. 3. The Congregation being thus turned towards the East, they put themselves into a Posture of Prayer, stretching out their Hands, and lifting up their Eyes towards Heaven,

‡ Προσηλύνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀτεταμέν. Stro-mat. lib. 7. p. 519.

* Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis. Apolog c. 30. p. 703.

§. 3. The Congregation being thus turned towards the East, they put themselves into a Posture of Prayer, stretching out their Hands, and lifting up their Eyes towards Heaven, as Clemens Alexandrinus writes, † We lift up our Head, and stretch out our Hands towards Heaven. And so Tertullian, ‡ We pray looking up to Heaven, with expanded Hands, by this devout posture imitating

raising & the lifting up of
their Hearts to God in the
known. Wherefore, as
now to quicken the Peo-
ple's Devotion, the Mi-
nister before Prayer excites them thereunto
by saying, *Let us pray.* So in the African
Churches, in Cyprian's
Prefac'd in his Prayer,
by saying to the People,
Lift up your Hearts. To
which the People to testify
their Consent, answered,
We lift them up unto
the Lord.

§. 4. After this the

Minister began to Pray. But before we handle
his Prayer, it may not be unnecessary to con-
sider in what Habit he Officiated, whether in a
Surplice, or no. His usual Garb was a *Palli-*
um, which in the same with what we call a

Cloak. This as being
the most simple and plain
Garment was commonly
worn by the Christians;
the usual Garb through-
out the whole Roman
Empire was the *Toga*,

which was more gay and splendid than the *Pal-*
lium; wherefore those who came over from Pa-
ganism to Christianity, for the Indication of
their Humility and Contempt of the World,
quitted the *Toga* as too pompous and mundane,
and assumed the *Pallium* or Cloak, as more

Origen. *de Orat.*
§. 20. p. 128.

Sacerdos ante Oratio-
nem Præfatione præmis-
sa, parat Fratrum me-
tes dicendo, Sursum cor-
da, & respondet plebs,
Habemus ad Dominum.
Cyprian. *de Orat. Dominic.*
§. 22. p. 316.

Pallio nihil expeditius
—quippe tota molitio
eius operire est solutum,
id est, uno circumjectu
—ita omnia hominis fi-
mul. contegit. Tertul. *de*
Pallio, p. 490.

grave and modest; from which change of Apparel, and renouncing of a sumptuous Habit, to embrace a poor and mean one, the Heathens derided and exposed the Christians, even to a Proverb, a *Toga ad Pallium*, which sarcastical Language engaged *Tertullian* to write a little Tract in Defence of the Cloak, which is still extant in his Writings, under the Title of *De Pallio*.

² *Primitive Christianity,*
Part 2. c. 3. p. 47.

But *Salmasius* and
Dr. *Cave* think this
severe Habit was not
worn by all Christians,

but only by those of them that led a more austere and mortified Life, such as the Clergy, and some self-denying Personages amongst the Laity, and that therefore it is called by *Tertullian* in the forementioned Tract, *Sacerdotis Habitus*, or *Priests Apparel*, as it is in all ancient Manuscripts, and in the first Edition of *Beatus Rhenanus*, and not *Sacer Habitus*, *The Holy Apparel*, as it is in the later Editions. But whether it were so or no, I shall not here debate. This is sufficient for my purpose, that the Clergy usually wore a Cloak. But now, that in times of Publick Prayer; they should put a Surplice, or any other kind of Linnen Garment over their Cloaks, neither *Tertullian*, nor any other, speak the least Syllable of it: Instead of putting another Vestment on their Gown or Cloak, *Tertullian* mentions some in his Days, who at Prayers would throw off their Gown or Cloak, which he condemns as a Superstitious Affection, and an Heathenish Custom. So, saith he,
the

the Petitioners pray to their Gods, which if it ought to have been done, would have been enjoined by the Apostles, who have given Directions concerning the manner of Prayer; unless some think, that when Paul had put off his Cloak at Prayer, he forgot it, and left it behind him at Carpus's.

§. 5. But quitting the Habit of him that Officiated, let us return to his Prayer, which he pronounced

with a modest and bashful Voice, that being most proper for those, who came to acknowledge the multitude and heinousness of their Sins, and to beg God's Pardon and Grace, which is the End and Design of Prayer. Musical Singing is best agreeable to the praising and adoring of God; but our Petitions to God ought to be sent up with most fervent Prayers, with Tears, and Cries, and Groans.

Doubtless the Minister so prayed, as did most affect the People, whose Mouth he was to God; for they did not vocally join with him in the Prayers, but only testified their Assent to what the Minister prayed, by saying *Amen*, or *So be it*. Thus in the Prayer at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, the President of the Assem-

* Quorundam postis penulis Orationem facere: sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes, quod utique si fieri oporteret. Apostoli qui de habitu Orandi docent, comprehendissent, nisi si qui putant Paulum penulam suam in Oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. De Oratione, p. 659.

* Modestis precibus orare. Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. §. 2. p. 309.

* Enixis precibus, lacrymis, ingemiscamus, preces, gemitus, lachrymæ. Cyprian. Epist. 8. p. 23.

**Assembly only prayed, and the People con-
firmed with the Amen.** So writes *Eusebius*;

Ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ ἐπὶ πάλιν προ-
εἶται, εὐχέλονται τὰς
εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν
πάντες ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπιθυ-
μῶν λέγων, Ἀμήν. Apo-
log. 2. p. 97.

Ἐυχέλονται δὲ τὴν
εὐχέλονται καὶ ἐνδοκίμου-
σιν πάντες τὴν λαὸν.
Ibid. p. 97.

Ἐυχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχα-
ριστίας οὐκ δύναμις αὐτῶν
ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπι-
θυμῶν λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν.
Ibid. p. 98.

mentioned by Dionysius

Ἐυχέλονται καὶ ἐπακροά-
ται, καὶ συνεπιδοχάζονται
τὸ Ἀμήν. Apud Euseb.
lib. 7. c. 9. p. 255.

Henricus Kalefius in his Notes on
this Place; as likewise *Dr. Hammond* in his An-
notations on 1 Cor. 14. think that St. Paul had
reference to this Custom of the Peoples saying
Amen, at the Conclusion of the Eucharistical
Prayer in 1 Cor. 14. 16. *Else when thou shalt bless
with the Spirit, how shall he that Occupies the
room of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving
of Thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou
sayest* In which place St. Paul condemns as ab-
-urd

*The Bishop makes a long
Prayer over the Elements;
and when he ends, all the
People present give their
Approbation, by saying
Amen. And When the
Elements are blessed by the
Minister's Prayer, and the
People have approved it,
by saying, Amen, Then
they are distributed. And*

*the Bishop, according to
his Ability, prays over the
Elements, and the People
give their Acclamations,
saying, Amen. So that
scrupulous Person men-
tioned by* *Alexandrianus* in his Epistle
to *Xystus*, is said, *to
have frequently heard the
Eucharistical Prayer, and
with the rest of the Con-
gregation, to have answer-*

fund and senseless, the Practice of some Men, who would consecrate the Sacrament in Hebrew or Syriack before Greeks, who understanding not those Tongues, could not bear their share in the Eucharistical Prayer, which consisted not in Antiphonal or Responsory Replies to the Minister, but only in saying *Amen*, or, *So be it*, to what he had prayed.

It is true indeed, that these Citations are spoken in particular of the Prayer before the Lord's Supper; but yet they may be also applied to their Prayer after Sermon, since we have no reason to imagine, that in the one they should use Responsals, and in the other none. But that in all their Prayers the Priest only prayed, seems to be apparent, from that it was one part of his Office, to pray for the People,

The Priests, says Cyprian, pray for the safety of the Lord's People. And

the Priests who have Sacrificed to Idols, cannot assume to themselves the Priesthood, or make any Prayer in God's sight for the Brethren. Therefore those ought to be chosen into the Priesthood, whom God will bear. It

was the Priest that solely pronounced the Publick Prayers without the Voices of the People: And indeed it was impossible for the People to respond, since they had no fixed publick Form of

In precibus quas faciunt pro Plebis Dominice incolumitate. Epist. 68. §. 2. p. 201.

Qui idolis sacrificando sacrilega Sacrificia fecerunt, Sacerdotium Dei sibi vindicare non possunt, nec ullam in conspectu ejus precem pro Fratribus facere. Epist. 64. §. 2. p. 190.

Oportet eos ad Sacerdotium deligi, quos a Deo constet audiri. Epist. 68. §. 3. p. 201.

Prayer,

28 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

Prayer, except the Lord's Prayer, which Lord's Prayer they frequently, though not always, repeated: And then as to their other Prayers, every Bishop or Minister of a Parish, was left to his own Liberty and Ability therein.

§. 6. As for the use of the Lord's Prayer, it must first be observed, that the constant repeating of it with other Prayers, was not esteemed necessary, but frequently it was omitted. Thus in the Heavenly Prayer of *Polycarpus* at the Stake, the Lord's Prayer is neither at beginning

nor ending. The Conclusion of it is, ' Lord I will praise thee, I will blefs thee, I will magnifie thee, through the Eternal High Priest Christ Jesus thy beloved Son, by whom to thee, with him, and the Holy Ghost, be Glory now, and for evermore, Amen.

Ἐγὼ αἰνῶ, σὺ ὡλοῖς, σὺ δόξῃς, διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς, δι' οὗ σὺ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξῃς, καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν. *Apud Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 133.*

So *Clemens Alexandrinus* concludes his last Book of Pedagogy, with a Prayer, which neither ends nor begins with the Lord's Prayer; and *Origen* prescribing a Method of Prayer, speaks not a Word of the Lord's

Prayer, but 'advises both to begin and end with Doxology, or a giving

Praise to God. In this Respect they regarded the Lord's Prayer, as given by Christ for a Pattern of all other Prayers, according to which they were to be made; whence *Cyprian* calls this

this Prayer, ⁶ the Law or Rule of praying; ⁷ so that to pray otherwise than that Prayer directed was Ignorance and Impiety. Wherefore, says Cyprian, ⁸ Let every one pray to God, not only for himself, but for all the Brethren, as the Lord hath taught us to pray for all. And so writes Clement Alexandrinus, ⁹ that a good Man never remembers the Affronts that are offered him, but always forgets them; wherefore he justly prays, saying, Forgive us as we forgive others; that is, he prays according to the Sense of the fifth Petition; for it is the Sense, not the very Words of that Petition, that he here recites.

But tho' the Repetition of the Lord's Prayer was not necessary, yet it was usual; whence saith Origen, ¹ Christ gave us a Prayer, with which he commanded us to pray unto the Father. And Tertullian writes, ² That our Lord Jesus Christ gave to his Disciples a new Form of Prayer. Whence he calls the Lord's Prayer, ³ The Lawful Prayer. And

⁶ Orandi legem. De Unit. Ecclesia, §. 11. p. 299.

⁷ Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed & culpa. De Orat. Dominic. §. 1. p. 309.

⁸ Unusquisque oret Deum non pro se tantum, sed pro omnibus fratribus, sicut Dominus orare nos docuit. Epist. 8. §. 6. p. 24.

⁹ Οὐδέποτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτημάτων μίμνηται, ἀλλὰ ἀφίηται, διὰ καὶ δεξιῶς ἐυχόμενος ἑαυτὸν, λέγων, καὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀφίημεν. Strom. lib. 7. p. 537.

¹ Quā patrem — nos iussit orare. In Isaiam, Homil. 1.

² Novam orationis formam determinavit. De Oratione, p. 657.

³ Legitima Oratio. De fuga in Persecut. p. 436.

o **The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.**

4. Orandi ipse formam dedit, ipse quid precaremur monuit & instruxit: Qui fecit vivere, docuit & orare — ut dum prece & oratione quam filius docuit, apud patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur — Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritualis Oratio, quam quæ verè à Christo nobis data est, à quo nobis & Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ verè magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ à filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? Ut asister orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit sed & culpa — Oremus itaque fratres dilectissimi, sicut Magister Deus docuit. Amica & Familiaris Oratio est Deum de suo rogare ad aures ejus ascendere Christi orationem, agnoscat pater filii sui verba: cum precem facimus, qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit & in voce: & cum ipsum habeamus apud patrem advocatum pro peccatis nostris quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba premamus. Nam cum dicat, quia quodcumque petierimus à Patre in nomine ejus, dabit nobis: quantò efficacius impetramus quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione? *De Orat. Dominie. §. 1, 2. p. 309.*

Cyprian yet more fully writes, that 'Christ hath given us a Form of Prayer, he hath admonished and instructed what we should pray for: He that made us live, hath taught us to pray; that whilst we offer unto the Father, the Prayer which the Son taught, we may be the more easily heard. — For what Prayer can be more Spiritual, than that which was given us by Christ, who gave us also the Holy Spirit? And what Prayer can be more prevalent with God, than that of his Son, who is the Truth, proceeding out of his Mouth? So that to pray otherwise than he hath taught, is both Ignorance and Impiety. Let us pray therefore, dearly beloved Brethren, as God our Master hath taught us: It is a friendly and familiar

Prayer to ask God with his own, and to present the Prayer of Christ to his Ears; the Father will acknowledge his own Words. When we pray, let him that dwells in the Heart, be in the Voice; and since we have him an Advocate with the Father for our Sins, when we beg pardon for our Sins, let us use the Words of our Advocate; and since he says, that whatsoever we shall ask of the Father in his Name, he will give it us; how much more effectually shall we prevail for what we beg in Christ's Name, if we ask it in his Prayer? To this Prayer it is that Tertullian gives this Encomium, *In the Compendium of a few Words, the whole De- votions of Prophets, and Angelists, and Apostles; how many Speeches, Parables; Examples and Precepts are contained! How many Duties towards God! Honour to God in the Preface; Faith in the first Petition; Hope in the Second, Resignation in the Third, Petition for Ease in the Fourth; Confession of Sins in the Fifth; Watchfulness against Temptations in the Sixth. What Wonder! God alone could teach, how he would be prayed to.*

§. 7. But tho' they frequently used the Lord's Prayer, yet they did not only use that, but other Prayers also; for immediately to the foregoing Encomium of the Lord's Prayer, Tertul-

lian

Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apostolorum, Sermones Domini, Parabolæ, exempla, præcepta, quot singulis expunguntur Officia Dei, honor, in patre, fides, testimonium in nomine, oblatio obsequii in voluntate, commemoratio spei in Regno, petitio vitæ in pace, exomologesis debitorum in deprecatione, sollicitudo tentationum, in postulatione tutelæ. Quid mirum! Deus solus docere potuit, ut se veller orare. De Orat. p. 652.

Posse nos super adjicere— & sunt quæ petantur pro circumstantia ejusque. *De Oratione*, p. 659.

tion and more. *Thus we may add therunto, and offer up Prayers unto God according to the Variety of our Circumstances and Conditions.* From which

Passage of the said Father, we may guess their usual Method of Prayer was first to begin with the Lord's Prayer, as the Ground and Foundation of all others; and then according to their Circumstances and Conditions to offer up their own Prayers and Requests. Now that this Conjecture may appear to have some Foundation, it will be necessary to translate at large this place of *Tertullian*, and to shew the Introduction or Occasion of it, which was this: After this Father had, as before, Commented on, summed up, and magnify'd the Lord's Prayer, he concludes, that nevertheless,

Posse nos super adjicere: Quoniam tamen Dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum sortum post traditam orandi Disciplinam, Petite, inquit, & accipietis, & sunt quæ petantur, pro circumstantia ejusque, præmissa legitima & ordinaria Oratiōe quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est super-

We may add therunto, for since the Lord the Observer of all Humane Necessities, has in another place, after he had delivered this Prayer, said, Ask and ye shall receive: And every one has particular Circumstances to beg for; therefore having pre-

servendi extrinsecus petitiones, cum memoria tamen præceptorum: Ne quantum præceptis tantum ab Urbibus Dei longè sumus. Memoria Præceptorum vim & rationibus sternit ad Cælum, quorum præcipuum est. *Ibid.* p. 659.

used the lawful and ordinary Prayer, there is place for accidental Requests, and a Liberty of offering up other Petitions, so as they do agree with the Precepts: As far as we are from the Precepts, so far are we from God's Ears; the remembrance of the Precepts makes way for our Prayers to Heaven, of which it is the chief.

Now these other Prayers, which made up a great part of Divine Service, were not stinted and imposed Forms, but the Words and Expressions of them were left to the Prudence, Choice and Judgment of every particular Bishop or Minister.

I do not here say, that a Bishop or Minister used no Arbitrary Form of Prayer; all that I say is, that there was none imposed: Neither do I say, that having no imposed Form, they unpremeditatedly, immethodically or confusedly vented their Petitions and Requests; for without doubt they observed a Method in their Prayers; but this is what I say, That the Words or Expressions of their Prayers were not imposed or prescribed, but every one that officiated, delivered himself in such Terms as best pleased him, and varied his Petitions according to the present Circumstances and Emergencies: Or if it be more intelligible, that the Primitive Christians had no stinted Liturgies, or imposed Forms of Prayer.

Now this being a Negative in Matter of Fact, the bare Assertion of it is a sufficient Proof, except its Affirmative can be evinced. Suppose it was disputed, whether ever St. Paul writ an Epistle to the Church of Rome, the bare Negation thereof would be Proof enough that he did not, except it could be clearly evidenced on the

contrary that he did: So unless it can be proved that the Ancients had fixed Liturgies and Prayer-Books, we may very rationally conclude in the Negative, that they had none at all.

Now as to these prescribed Forms, there is not the least mention of them in any of the Primitive Writings, nor the least Word or Syllable tending thereunto that I can find, which is a most unaccountable Silence, if ever such there were, but rather some Expressions intimating the contrary; as that famous controverted place of *Justin Martyr*, who describing the manner of the Prayer before the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, says, That the Bishop sent

up Prayers and Praises to God ^{with his utmost ability, *ὡς δυνάμει*}

that he prayed with the best of his Abilities, Invention, Expression, Judgment and the like. I am not ignorant that there is another Sense given of *ὡς δυνάμει*, or, *According to his Ability*. But I must needs say, that generally, if not always found this Phrase to include personal Abilities. Thus as to the Explanation of Scripture, *Origen* writes, that he would expound it,

^{according to his Ability, *ὡς δυνάμει*}

^{Com. in Matth. Tom. 17. p. 487. Vol. 1.} and that he would Comment on that

Parable of the Blind-Man, that was healed near *Jericho*, mentioned in *Luke*

18. 35. ^{*κατὰ τὴν δυνάμει*}

^{Com. in Matth. Tom. 16. p. 429. Vol. 1.} And so on the Parable concerning the Husband-

man; ^{*κατὰ τὴν δυνάμει*} and on the Marriage of the

King's

King's Son, ³ *ὁ υἱος τοῦ βασιλέως*; and that he would search out the Sense of the Gospel of St. John, ⁴ *ὁ υἱος τοῦ βασιλέως*. ⁵ *Ibid. Tom. 17. p. 474.* Now what doth Origen intend, by his searching out the Sense, and expounding the meaning of the Scriptures to the utmost of his Power and Ability? Is it a bare reading and transcribing of other Mens Works, or an Employment of his own Abilities and Studies to find out the Sense and Meaning of them? Certainly every one will think the latter to be most probable.

So as to the Argumentative Defence of the Truth, Origen promises that he would answer the Calumnies of Celsus,

⁶ according to his Power, ⁷ *Contra Celsum lib. 1.*

⁸ *ὁ υἱος τοῦ βασιλέως*;

and that he would defend and confirm his Arguments against Celsus

⁹ according to his Power, ¹⁰ *Ibid. lib. 1. p. 28.*

¹¹ *ὁ υἱος τοῦ βασιλέως*; and demonstrate the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, ¹² according to his Power, ¹³ *Ibid. lib. 6. p. 265.*

¹⁴ *ὁ υἱος τοῦ βασιλέως*; and dispute against Celsus, ¹⁵ according to his Power, ¹⁶ *Ibid. lib. 7. p. 332.*

¹⁷ *ὁ υἱος τοῦ βασιλέως*. Now whether Origen's defending the Truth, and disputing against Celsus according to his utmost Ability and Power, consisted in a reading, or in a bare transcribing out of a Book, the written Arguments of other Men, or in an Employ-

ment of his own Abilities, Inventions and Expressions, is no difficult matter to determine.

I have not found one place, wherein this Phrase of *ſon d'vrai* doth not comprehend personal Abilities; and several scores more might I cite, where it is so to be understood, which I shall omit, and mention only one more, spoken by *Origen* with respect to this Duty of Prayer, where it must of necessity imply personal Abilities, and that is in his

‘ S. 22. p. 134.

Book ‘ *De Oratione*,
where he prescribes the

Methods and Parts of Prayer, the first whereof was *Doxology*; wherein, says he, he that prays must bless God *according to his Power*, & *d'vrai*, where *d'vrai* must signify the Performer's Abilities of Judgment and Expression, because it is not spoken of prescribed Words, but of a prescribed Method of Prayer; as if any one should desire me to inform him, how or in what Method he must pray; I tell him, as *Origen* doth in this place, that first he must begin with an Invocation of God by his Titles and Attributes; then he must proceed to praise God for his Mercies and Benefits, confessing withal his Ingratitude and Unfruitfulness; then beg pardon for past Sins, strength against future, and conclude all with praising God through Christ, and that he must do all this according to the utmost of his Ability. What could any one imagine, that I should intend by this Advice of following this Method to the utmost of his Power, but by the exerting of his own

own Abilities, Understanding, Memory, Invention, Expression, and the like, since I direct him not to any prescribed Words, but only to the Observation of those General Heads and Parts of Prayer.

So that the Ministers Praying *ἑκ τῶν δυνάμεων*, or according to the utmost of his Ability, imports the exerting his Gifts and Parts in suitable Matter and apt Expressions; and that the Primitive Prayers were so, appears yet farther from a Passage in Origen, who thus explains that Verse in *Matth. 6*. But when ye pray, use not vain Repetitions as the Heathens do,

But when we pray, let us not Battologise, that is, use not vain Repetitions, but Theologise: But we Battologise, when we do not strictly observe our Selves, or the Words of Prayer, which we express, when we utter those things which are filthy either to do, speak, or think, which are vile, worthily reprobable, and alienated from the Purity of the Lord. Surely this Caution had

* Ἀλλὰ προσευχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογώμεν· ἀλλὰ θεολογώμεν, βαττολογώμεν δὲ ὅτι μὴ μακροσκοπεύτες ἑαυτοὺς ἢ τὰς ἀναγκαιοτάτας τῶν ἐν ἡμῶν λέγουσιν τὰ διαφθαρὰ ἔργα, ἢ λόγους, ἢ νοήματα ταπεινὰ πύχνα, ὄντα καὶ ἐπιληπτά, τὰ φθαρτά, ἀλλότεια τοῦ κυρίου. De Oratione, §. 16. p. 63.

been needless of strictly observing the Words that they uttered, and this Fear had been groundless of expressing themselves undecently or sinfully, if they had had a Prayer-Book to recur to; but that they had no such Prayer-Book appears yet more evidently from *Tertulian*, who describing their Publick Prayers, says

* Illuc suspicientes Christi-
fianti manibus expansis,
quia innocuis, capite nu-
do, quia non erubesci-
mus, denique sine moni-
tore, quia de pectore o-
ramus. *Apolog. c. 30. p.*
703.

that * looking up to Hea-
ven, they spread abroad
their Hands because inno-
cent ; uncovered their
Heads, because not asha-
med ; and without a Mo-
nitor, because they prayed
from the Heart. Now

what is to be understood by praying from the
Heart, will best appear from enquiring into
what is opposed to it, viz. The Praying by a
Monitor. Now the praying by a Monitor, as
is acknowledg'd by all, was praying by a
Book. But thus *Tertullian* affirms the Primi-
tive Christians prayed not : We do not pray,
saith he, with a Monitor, reading our Prayers
out of a Book. No, but on the contrary, we
pray *de Pectore*, from the Heart, our own Heart
and Soul dictating to us, what is most proper
and suitable to be asked, having no need of any
other Monitor besides.

Hence their Prayers were suited to their E-
mergencies and present Circumstances, as *Ter-*

* Præmissa legitima &
ordinaria oratione, acci-
dentium jus es desideri-
orum. *De Orat. p. 649.*

tullian writes, that * ha-
ving premised the Lord's
Prayer, we may offer up
accidental Requests and
Petitions, of which oc-

casional Requests we find some Instances, as in
the sixteenth Epistle of *Cyprian*, where that Fa-
ther assures *Moses* and *Maximus*, two Roman

* Et quando in Sacrifi-
ciis precem cum pluri-
mis facimus. *Epist. 16.*
S. I. p. 44.

Confessors, * That he re-
membred them in his Pub-
lick Prayers with his Con-
gregation. And in ano-
ther

their Epistle where he congratulates Pope Lucius upon his Return from Banishment, he assures him, *That he did not*

cease in his publick Prayers to bless God for so great a Mercy, and to pray him that was perfect, to keep and perfect in him the glorious Crown of his Confession. And so when the Church of Carthage sent a Sum of Money to the Bishops of Numidia, for the Redemption of some Christian Captives, they desired those Bishops to remember them in their publick Prayers. So that their Prayers could not be stinted, invariable Forms, because they could add new Petitions, as their Occasions and Circumstances did require.

Firmilian reports of an Exorcist Woman, that being acted by the Devil, she did wondrous Feats, taking upon her to perform Ecclesiastical Administrations, as to Baptize and Celebrate the Eucharist, the Elements whereof she Consecrated, with an Invocation not to be despised, that is, as seems to be most agreeable unto the Place, and to the Person Divinus of Justin Martyr. The Matter, Invention and Expression of that Prayer, wherewith she consecrated

Hic quoque in Sacrificiis atque in Orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo — gratias agere, & orare pariter, ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat & perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam. Epist. 58. §. 2. p. 163.

In mentem habeatis in Orationibus vestris, & eis vicem boni operis in Sacrificiis & precibus representetis. Epist. 60. §. 4. p. 167.

Invocatione non contemptibili. Apud Cyr. Ep. 75. §. 10. p. 238.

the Elements, was not mean or contemptible, but indifferently well performed. So that it seems evident, that though the Method of their Prayers might in the main be the same, yet every one was left to follow his own Fancy and Expression therein.

But that I may hasten to the Conclusion of this Section, it is very unlikely that they were obliged to prescribed Forms, because they never read a Syllable of their Prayers out of any Book whatsoever, which is evident from their Posture of Prayer, which was two-fold, Either with their Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven; or with their Eyes shut: That they prayed with their Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, has been already shewn in the Third Section of this Chapter, to which I shall only add this farther Observation, that

* *Expandimus, manus & dominica passione modulantes & orantes confitemur Christo. Tertul. de Orat. p. 659.*

* *they stretched out their Hands in the Figure of a Cross.*

That they also prayed with their Eyes shut, is evident from *Origen*, who having explained what is meant by that Injunction of our Saviour in *Matth. 6. 5. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the Hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the Synagogues, and in the Corners of the Streets, that they may be seen of Men; verily, I say unto you, they have their Rewards.* thus explains the following Verse; *But thou, when thou prayest, enter thou into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut to thy Door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret,*

secret, shall never be
openly. But in such an
no Hypocrite, enters into
the Closet of his Heart, de
the Riches that are treasur
red up there, and shutting
himself in amongst those
Treasures of Wisdom and
Knowledge, and not fixing
his Eyes on external Ob
jects; as looking after any
thing without, and closing
every Gate of the Senses;
lest he should be drawn a
side by them, and their
Species or Fancies should
creep into his Mind, he
prays the Father, who ne
ver flies from, or leaves
such an one, but together with the Son, dwells in
him. So the same Father writes, that a true
Christian prays in every
place, closing the Eyes
of his Senses, but erecting
those of his Mind. Now
let them have prayed in
either of these Postures, and it is very evident
that they could read in neither of them; for it
is very improbable that they could turn over
the Leaves of a Book, whilst their Hands were
extended towards Heaven in the Form of a
Cross; or that they could read in a Book,
whilst their Eyes were lifted up; or else quite
shut and closed.

A M O

IF

If therefore there had been prescribed and imposed Forms, they must of necessity have remembered them, which would have been an intolerable Load to the strongest Memory, especially to have repeated Word after Word the Prayers of their Fast Days, which must have been several Hours long, since some of their Fasts, as will be shewn in another place, were prolonged from the Morning of one Day, to the beginning of another.

S. 8. There remains now but one Question more with respect to their Publick Prayers, and that is, Whether they were divided into several Collects? To which I have not much certain to Answer; probably on their Assemblies on Fast Days, when they continued together treble the usual time, for the Ease of the Bishop and his Assistants, they made several distinct Prayers, and probably at their Ordinary Meetings, their Prayer after Sermon was but one entire Piece. But all this is but Conjecture, all that I find positive, is touching their Prayer, that preceded the Consecration of the Eucharistical Elements, which, as *Justin Martyr* writes, *was one long Prayer, to*

which the People said,
Amen.

which the People said, Amen. Εὐχαριστοῦντες ὑμῶν καὶ
 πατρὶς θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
 ἐν τοῦ ποιοῦνται ἡ συν-
 τελευτῶν τοῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ τῇ εὐχαρίστῳ πᾶς ὁ πατὴρ λαοῖς
 ὑποτασσόμεναι λέγοντες Ἀμήν. Apolog. 2. P. 97.

CHAP. III.

- §. 1. *Of Baptism: The Persons Baptizing.*
 §. 2. *The Persons Baptized: First, Infants.*
 §. 3. *Next, Adult Persons. The Qualifications that were required in them.* §. 4. *The manner of Baptism: The Person to be Baptized abjured the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and gave his Assent to the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith.* §. 5. *A Digression concerning the Ancient Creed. The Creed commonly call'd the Apostles, not known within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ. In those Days they had other brief Summaries of Faith, agreeing in Sense, but not in Words.*
 §. 6. *All the ancient Creeds transcribed in their Original Language.* §. 7. *The Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, compared with the Ancient Creeds.* §. 8. *How the Creed was composed.*

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter discoursed of their Publick Prayers, I proceed in the next place to consider the Two Sacraments, viz. *Baptism*; and the *Lord's Supper*. And first of all, to treat of that of *Baptism*, together with its Appendix and Confirmation; for the more methodical and distinct handling whereof, I shall enquire into these three Things, viz. *The Persons Baptizing, the Persons Baptized, and the manner of Baptism.*

First,

44. The Ministry, Sacraments, &c.

First, As to the Persons Baptizing, usually they were the Bishops, or Pastors of their Respective Parishes, as *Justin Martyr* describes Baptism as performed by the *Presbyter*, or

Apolog. 2. p. 97.

De Coron. Milit. p. 335.

Summus Sacerdos. qui est Episcopus. De Bapt. p. 602.

Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate

Laicis etiam jus est sufficiat in necessitatibus. Ibidem, p. 602, 603.

Mulier non tingendi jus sibi pariet. Ibid. p. 603.

Proident; and Tertullian by the Antistes, or Superintendent; and by the High Priest, who is the Bishop; but with his Permission and Consent, It was allowed to Presbyters and Deacons; and in case of Necessity, even to Laymen to Baptize; but never under any Necessity whatsoever was it permitted to a Woman so to do.

S. 2. As for the Persons that were Baptized, they were two sorts, ei-

ther Infants, or Adult persons. That Infants were baptized, will be evident from this single Consideration. Baptism was always precedent to the Lord's Supper; and none were admitted to receive the Eucharist, till they were baptized. This is so obvious to every Man, that it needs no proof: If any one doubts it, he may find it clearly asserted in the Second Apology of *Justin Martyr*, p. 97. Children received the Eucharist in the Primitive Church, which is also a thing so well known, as that for the proof of it

Diaconus reluctant recept, de Sacramento Laicis infudit. De Lap. p. 20. p. 284.

I shall only urge one passage of *Cyprian's*, where he tells a long Story of a Sucking Girl, who so violently

lently refused to taste the Sacramental Wine, that the Deacon was obliged forcibly to open her Lips, and to pour down the Consecrated Wine. Therefore it naturally follows, that Children were baptized; for if they received that Ordinance, which always succeeded Baptism, then of necessity they must have received Baptism its self. But I needed not to have mention'd this Consideration, since Infant-Baptism is as clearly asserted in Words at length in the Primitive Writings, as a thing can possibly be. Thus *Origen* writes, that *Children are baptized for the Remission of their Sins, for the purging away of their natural Filth, and original Impurity which is inherent in them, according to Job 15. 14. What is Man that he should be clean? And he which is born of a Woman, that he should be Righteous? And that of the Prophet Isaiah, chap. 4. v. 4. When the Lord shall have washed away the Filth of the Daughter of Sion, and shall have purged the Blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof. No one is clean from the Filth; no, though he lived but one Day upon the Earth. Wherefore because through the Sacrament of Baptism, the Uncleanesses of our Birth are purged away, therefore Children are baptized. And the same Father Commenting on that place of our Saviour,*

Matth.

Parvuli baptizantur in Remissionem peccatorum; Quorum peccatorum? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt? Aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus, nullus mundus à sordē, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram? Et quia per Baptismi Sacramentum natiuitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur & parvuli. In *Lucan. Homil.* 14.

Matth. 23. 10. See that ye despise not one of these little ones, alledges him as one Reason, why we should not do so, because of the Angels that guard them, on which reason he makes this Que-

ry, *At what time the Angels begin their Guardianship over these little ones, whether at the time of their Birth or their Baptism?* So that little ones were Baptized; by which little ones he means Infants and Children, as is most evident from those other Titles, which he gives them in the same Tome, as *waldea*, *little Children*, *vima*, *Infants*; and in one place he supposes them to be *under three*

Μέγας τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν. Ibid. p. 321.

or four Years old.

To these Testimonies of Origen, I might also add those of Irenæus, *Lib. 2. cap. 39. p. 137.* and of Cyprian, *De Lapsis, §. 7. p. 279.* But I shall chuse to wave them, because I would willingly translate at length the Determination of an African Synod, held Anno 254, whereat were present Threescore and Six Bishops; the occasion of which Determination was this: A certain Bishop called *Édus*, had some Scruples, not concerning the Baptism of Infants, but concerning the time of their Baptism, whether they might be baptized before the Second or Third Day after their Birth, or before the Eighth Day, as it was observed with respect to Circumcision under the Mosaical Economy; the

the Reasons or Grounds for which his Sonship he proposed to this Synod, who having seriously examined them, unanimously decreed, That Childrens Baptism was not to be deferred so long, but that the Grace of God, or Baptism, should be given to all, and most especially unto Infants, which Synodical Decree, because so pertinent to my purpose, I have at large transcribed as follows:

Quantum vero ad causam Infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem quo nati sint constitutos baptizari non oportere; & considerandum esse legem Circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem cum qui natus est baptizandum & sanctificandum non putares; longe aliud in consilio nostro omnibus visum est; in hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum, nemo consensit, sed universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei & gratiam denegandam; nam cum Dominus in Evangelio suo dicat, Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed

As for the matter of Infants, whom, you said, were not to be Baptized within the Second or Third Day after their Nativity, or according to the Law of Circumcision within the eighth Day thereof; it hath appeared to us in our Council quite contrary; no one maintained your Opinion, but we all judged, That the Mercy and Grace of God was to be denied to no Man; for since the Lord said in the Gospel, The Son of Man came not to destroy, but to save the Souls of Men; therefore as much as lies in our Power, no Soul is to

salvare; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Quid enim ei deest, qui semel in utero, Dei manibus formatus est? Nobis enim atque oculis nostris, secundum dierum secularium cursum, accipere, qui nati sunt incrementum videntur: Cæterum quæcunque a Deo fiunt, Dei factoris majestate & opere perfecta sunt. Esse denique apud omnes, siue infantes, siue majores natu, unam divini muneris æqualitatem, declarat nobis divinæ Scripturæ fides, cum Helisæus super Infantem Sunamitis, Viduæ Filium qui mortuus jacebat, ita se Deum deprecans superstravit, ut capiti caput, & faciei facies applicaretur, & superfusi Helisæi membra singulis parvuli membris & pedes pedibus jungerentur. Quæ res si secundum nativitatis nostræ & Corporis qualitatem cogitetur, adulto & profecto Infans non pos-

to be lost; for what is there defective in him, who has been once formed in the Womb by the Hands of God? To us indeed it seems, that Children increase, as they advance in Years; but yet whatever things are made by God, are perfected by the Work and Majesty of God their Maker. Besides, the Holy Scriptures declare, that both Infants and Adult Persons have the same Equality in the Divine Workmanship: When, Elisha prayed over the Dead Child of the Sunamitish Widow, he lay upon the Child, and put his Head upon his Head, and his Face upon his Face, and his Body upon his Body, and his Feet upon his Feet. This may be thought improbable, how the small Members of an Infant should equal the big ones of a grown Man; but

set æquari, nec cõfiterere
& sufficere possent par-
va membra majoribus.
Sed illuc æqualitas divi-
& spiritualis exprimitur,
quod pares atque æqua-
les sint omnes homines,
quando a Deo semel fa-
cti sint, & possit ætas no-
stra in incrementis cor-
porum secundum sæcu-
lum, non secundum De-
um habere discrimen; ni-
si si & gratia ipsa, quæ
baptizatis datur, pro æ-
tate accipientium vel mi-
nor, vel major tribuitur;
cum spiritus sanctus non
de mensura, sed de pi-
tate atque indulgentia
paterna æqualis omnibus
præbeatur. Nam Deus
ut personam non accipit,
sic ne ætatem, cum se
omnibus ad cœlestis gra-
tiæ consecutionem æqua-
litate librata præbeat pa-
trem.

but herein is expressed
the Divine and Spirit-
ual Equality, that all
Men are equal, and
alike, when they are
made by God; that
though the increase of
our Bodies may cause
an inequality with re-
spect to Men, yet not
with respect to God;
unless that that Grace,
which is given to bap-
tized Persons, be more
or less according to the
Age of the Receivers;
but the Holy Ghost is
given equally to all, not
according to measure,
but according to God's
Mercy and Indul-
gence; so that God is
no respecter of Persons,
neither of Years; he
equally offers to all, the
obtaining of his Hea-
venly Grace.

Nam & quod vestigi-
um infantis, in primis
partus sui diebus consti-
tuit, modum non esse
dixit, quod unusquisque
nostrum adhuc horreat

And whereas you
say that an Infant for
the first Days after
his Birth is unclean,
so that every one is
afraid to kiss him, this

exosculari, nec hoc putamus ad celestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere; scriptum est enim, omnia munda sunt mundis; nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat osculari, quando in osculo Infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato & recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id quod Deus fecit, amplectimur. Nam quod in Judaica Circumcisione carnali octavus dies observabatur, Sacramentum est in umbra atque in imagine ante præmis-

can be no Impediment to his Obtainment of Heavenly Grace; for it is written, to the Pure all things are pure; and none of us should dread that which God hath made; for although an Infant be newly born, yet he is not so, as that we should dread to kiss him; since in the kissing of an Infant, we ought to think upon the fresh Works of God, which in a manner we * kiss in an Infant newly formed and born, when we embrace that which God hath made. And whereas the carnal Jewish Circumcision was performed on the Eighth Day, that was a Type and Shadow of some future good thing, which, Christ the Truth being now

* This they speak with reference to their Custom of Saluting one another at the Conclusion of their public Assemblies.

sum, sed veniente Christo veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies, id est, post Sabbatum primus dies futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret, & nos vivificaret & Circumcisionem nobis spiritualem daret, hic dies octavus, id est, post Sabbatum primus, & Dominicus præcessit in imagine, quæ imago cessavit superveniente postmodum veritate, & data nobis spirituali circumcissione. Propter quod neminem putamus à gratia consequenda, impediendum esse ea lege quæ jam statuta est; nec spiritua-lem circumcissionem impediri carnali circumcissione debere, sed omnem omnino hominem admit- tendum esse ad gratiam Christi, quando & Petrus in Actibus Apostolorum loquatur, & dicat, Dominus mihi dixit, neminem communem dicen- dum & immundum.

come, is done away; because the Eighth Day, or the First Day after the Sabbath, was to be the Day on which our Lord should rise and quicken us, and give us the Spiritual Circumcision; there- fore was the Carnal Circumcision, on the Eighth Day, which Type is now abolished. Christ the Truth be- ing come, and having given us the Spiritual Circumcision. Where- fore it is our Judge- ment, that no one ought to be debarred from God's Grace by that Law, or that the Spiritual Circum- cision should be hin- dred by the carnal one; but all Men ought to be admitted to the Grace of Christ, as Peter saith in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Lord said unto him, that he should call no Man common or unclean.

Cæterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ posset; magis adultos & proventus & majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus & in Deum multum ante peccantibus, tum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, & a baptismo atque a gratia nemo prohibetur; quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antequam prima natiuitate contraxit? Qui ad remissionem peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena peccata & idcirco, frater charissime, hæc fuit in concilio nostra sententia, a baptismo atque a gratia Dei, qui omnibus misericors & benignus, & pius est, neminem per nos debere prohiberi. Quod cum

But if any thing can hinder Men from Baptism, it will be heinous Sins, that will debar the Adult and Mature therefrom; and if those who have sinned extremely against God, yet if afterwards they believe, are baptized, and no Man is prohibited from this Grace, how much more ought not an Infant to be prohibited, who being but just born, is guilty of no Sin, but of Original which he contracted from Adam? Who ought the more readily to be received to the remission of Sins, because not his own, but others sins are remitted to him. Wherefore, dearly beloved, it is our Opinion, that from Baptism, and the Grace of God, who is merciful, kind and benign to all, none ought to be prohibited by us, which as it is to be observed and followed with

circa universos observandum sit atque retinendum, tum magis circa infantes ipsos & recens natos observandum putamus, qui hoc ipso de opere nostra, ac de divina misericordia plus merentur, quod in primo statim natiuitatis suæ ortu plorantes ac fientes nihil aliud faciunt quam deprecantur.

with respect to all, so especially with respect to Infants, and those that are but just born, who deserve our Help, and the Divine Mercy, because at the first instant of their Natiuity, they beg it by their Cries and Tears.

Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. S. 2, 3, 4. p. 164, 165.

So that here is as Formal, Synodical Decree for the Baptism of Infants as possibly can be expected; which being the Judgment of a Synod, is more authentick and cogent than that of a private Father, it being supposable, that a private Father might write his own particular Judgment and Opinion, but the Determinations of a Synod or Council, denote the common Practice and Usage of the Whole Church.

§. 3. It is evident then, that Infants were baptised in the Primitive Ages; and as for the Baptism of the Adult, that being own'd by all, it will be needless to prove it. These were Persons grown in Years, able to judge and chuse for themselves, who relinquished Paganism, and came over to the Christian faith. What Qualifications were required in them previous or antecedent to Baptism I need not here relate, since I have already handled this Point in the Sixth Chapter of the former Treatise, to which I refer the Reader. In short, such

as these were first instructed in the Christian Faith, continued some time in the Rank of the

Catechumens, till they had given good Proofs of their Resolutions to lead a pious, religious Life, and had professed their Assent and Consent to all the Christian Verities, and then they were solemnly baptized. Which brings me

to the third thing proposed, *viz.* The manner of Baptism, which for the main was, as follows.

§ 4. The Person to be baptized was first asked several Questions by the Bishop, or by him that Officiated, unto which he was to give his Answer, concerning which Baptismal Questions and Answers *Dionysius Alexandrinus* speaks in his Letter to *Xystus* Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he writes of a certain scrupulous Person in his Church, who was exceedingly troubled, when he was present at Baptism, and

heard the Questions and Answers of those that were Baptized. Which Questions *Firmilian* styles,

Καὶ ὅς ἐνπεσόντων καὶ ἀποκρίσας ἐρανίσας. *Apud* Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9. p. 254.

Usitata & Legitima verba Interrogationis. *Apud* Cyprian. Epist. 75. s. 10. p. 238.

the lawful and usual Interrogatories of Baptism.

Now these Questions and Answers were two-fold :

First, Of Abjuration of the Devil and all his Works: And, Secondly, Of a Firm Assent to the Articles of the Christian Faith. First, Of Abjuration. The Minister

fter proposed this Question to the Party baptized, or to this Effect, *Do you renounce the Devil, the World, and the Flesh?* To which he answer-

ed, *Yes.* So writes Tertullian, *When we are baptized, we renounce the World, the Devil, and his Angels. And with our Mouth we have vowed to renounce the World, the Devil and his Angels. And We have renounced the Devil and his Angels. And Thou hast covenanted to renounce the World, the Devil, and his Angels. And We were called to the Warfare of the Living God, when we promised in the Words of Baptism. To the same effect also says Cyprian, When we were baptized, we renounced the World. And We have renounced the World, its Poms and Delights. And The Servant of God has renounced the Devil and the World. And, We have renounced the World, and by the Faith of Spiritual Grace have cast off its Riches*

† *Contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. De Corona Militis, p. 326.*

‡ *Renunciassè nos Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus ore nostro contestamur. De Spectac. p. 83.*

§ *Renunciavimus Diabolo & Angelis ejus. De Idololat. p. 618.*

¶ *Pactus es renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. Lib. de Anima, c. 17. p. 554.*

* *Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi, juss tunc cum in Sacramenti verbis spondimus. Ad Martyr. p. 367.*

† *Sæculo renunciaveramus cum baptizati sumus. Epist. 7. §. 3. p. 20.*

‡ *Mundi pompis & deliciis jam tunc renunciavimus. De Hab. Virg. §. 6. p. 267.*

§ *Dei servus—Diabolo jam renunciarat & Sæculo. De Lapsis, §. 6. p. 279.*

¶ *Sæculo renunciavimus & Divitias ejus & Pompas fide gratiæ spirituales. §. 14. p. 213.*

lis abjecimus. De Orat. Dom.

* Diabolo & Mundo renuntiavimus. *De Bono Patientia*, §. 7. p. 385.

† Ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῶν ταῖς πορνείαις ἀρχαῖς. Theod. Epist. p. 573.

and Poms. And, 'We have renounced the Devil and the World. And so likewise saith Clemens Alexandrinus, that in Baptism we renounced the Devil.

The Second Question was, Whether the Party to be Baptized, did believe, all the Articles of the Christian Faith, to which he answered, Yes, as Justin Martyr writes,

“Οσοι ἀν παιδείῃ καὶ ἐσδῶσιν ἀληθῆς ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λαμβάνειν ἔβη, &c. *Apolo-* *g.* 2. p. 93.

that those who were to be baptized, were to give their Assent to the things that were taught and held by them. So Cyprian writes, that at Baptism they asked the

Baptized Person's Assent to this Creed, 'Whether he believed in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, remission of Sins, and eternal Life through the Church? And that at Baptism they asked,

† Credis in vitam eternam, & remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam? *Epist.* 70. §. 2. p. 211.

Dost thou believe the Life everlasting, and remission of Sins through the Holy Church? These Articles of Faith to which

the Baptized Persons gave their Assent, are call'd by Cyprian, 'The Law of the Symbol. And by Novatian, 'The Rule of Truth.

‡ Symboli legem. *Epist.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

§ Regula veritatis. *De Trinitate inter Opera Iul.* p. 493.

§. 5. And here since we have mentioned the Symbol, it will be no unuseful Digression to enquire a little into the Ancient Creeds ; for as for that Creed, which is commonly called the Apostles, all Learned Persons are now agreed, that it was never composed by them, neither do I find it within my prescribed Time : But though they had not that, yet they had other Creeds very like thereunto, which contained the fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, unto which all Christians gave their Assent and Consent, and that publicly at Baptism ; whence, as before, it is called by *Cyprian*, *The Law of the Symbol* ; and by *Novatian*, *The Rule of Truth*.

This Creed was handed down from Father to Son, as a brief Summary of the necessary Scripture Truths, not in *ipsissimis verbis*, or in the same set Words, but only the Sense or Substance thereof, which is evident, from that we never find the Creed twice repeated in the same Words, no, not by one and the same Father ; which that it may the more manifestly appear, as also that we may see the Congruity and Affinity of the Antient Creeds with our Present Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, I shall Transcribe in their Original Language all the whole Creeds, and Pieces of Creeds, that I find within my limited Bounds, which, together with the Authors wherein they are to be found, are as follows.

Credo in unum Deum, fabricatorem Cœli & Terræ, & omnium quæ in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium, qui propter eminentissimam erga Figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex Virgine, generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, & passus sub Pontio Pilato, & resurgens, & in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, & Iudex eorum qui judicantur, & mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, & contemptores patris sui & adventus ejus. *Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 172.*

Regula est autem Fidei, ut jam hinc quid credamus, profiteatur, illa scilicet, quæ creditur unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi creatorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum suum, primo omnium amissum; id verbum Filium ejus appellatum in nomine Dei, varie visum Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu patris Dei & virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, & ex natum, egisse Jesum Christum, exinde prædicasse novam legem & novam promissionem Regni Cœlorum, virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci tertie die resurrexisse, in cœlos ereptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, misisse vicariam vim spiritus sancti, qui credentes agant, venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ, & promissorum cœlestium fructum, & ad Prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resurrectione cum carnis restitutione.

Hæc

Hæc regula a Christo — instituta nullas habet apud nos questionēs, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, & quæ hæreticos faciunt. *Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 73.*

Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam *divorcular* dicimus, ut unici Dei sit & Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est nihil, hunc missum a patre in Virginem, & ex ea natum hominem & Deum, filium hominis & filium Dei, & cognominatum Jesum Christum, hunc passum, hunc mortuum & sepultum secundum scripturas, & resuscitatum a Patre, & in cælo resumptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, qui exinde miserat secundum promissionem suam a patre spiritum sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse, &c. *Tertul. advers. Præscian. p. 316.*

Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis & irreformabilis credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, & filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertio die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cælis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem. *Tertullian de Virginib. veland. p. 385.*

Πιστεύοντες ὅτι ἔστιν ὁ Θεός, ὃ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ
καταρτίους καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τῆς μηδ' ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ
πάντα, καὶ δι' καὶ πεδίον ἐπὶ Κύνειον Ἰωάννης Χειρὸς καὶ
πάσῃ τῇ ἀρεῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θηότητα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρωπότητα
ἀληθεύει δι' καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πιστεύον καὶ ὅτι
ἀντιζητοῦν δι' ἡμῶν καταζόμενα μὲν ἐφ' ὅτι ἀμαρτάνομεν, π-
μύνομεν ὃ ἐφ' ὅτι εὖ περὶ ἡμῶν. Origen. Comment. in
Johan. Tom. 32. p. 397. Vol. 2.

Unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit, atque
composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse universa,
Deus a prima creatura & conditione mundi
omnium iustorum, Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos,
&c. & quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, si-
cut per Prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit
Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo
quidem vocatum Israel, secundo vero etiam
gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus
iustus & bonus pater domini nostri Jesu Christi,
Legem & Prophetas & Evangelia ipse dedit,
qui & Apostolorum Deus est, & veteris & no-
vi Testamenti: Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus
ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex
patre est: Qui cum in omnium conditione pa-
tri ministrasset (per ipsum enim omnia facta
sunt) novissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens
homo factus est, incarnatus est cum Deus esset,
& homo manifest quod Deus erat. Corpus as-
sumpsit corpori nostro simile, eo solo differens,
quod natum ex Virgine & Spiritu sancto est, &
quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus & passus est
in veritate, & non per imaginem, communem
hanc mortem vere mortuus est; vere enim a
morte

morte resurrexit, & post resurrectionem conversatus cum Discipulis suis assumptus est.

Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri ac Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum sanctum, in hoc non jam manifeste discernitur, utrum natq; sit Inpatus. Sed inquirenda jam ista pro viribus sunt de Sacra Scriptura, & sagaci perquisitione investiganda, sane quod iste Spiritus sanctus unumquemque sanctorum vel Prophetarum, vel Apostolorum inspiravit, & non alius Spiritus in veteribus, alius vero in his, qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt, manifestissime in Ecclesiis prædicatur. Post hæc jam, quod anima substantiam, vitamque habens propriam, cum ex hoc mundo discesseris, & pro suis meritis dispensabis, siue vitæ æternæ ac beatitudinis hereditate, potitura, si hoc ei sua gesta præstiterint; siue igne æterno ac suppliciis mancipanda, si in hoc eam scelerum culpa detorserit. Sed, & quia estis tempus resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc quod in corruptione seminatur surget in incorruptione, & quod seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria.

Quæ in Præm. lib. de æpist.

Credis in Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum sanctum, remissionem peccatorum, & Vitam æternam, per Sanctam Ecclesiam?

Cyprian. Epist. 76. §. 6. p. 248.

Εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα λόγον ζωῆς, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆρας, καὶ ῥαυατῆς αἰῶνα πλεονέκτης ζωῆς, πατέρα ἡμῶν, οἷς κύριος, μόνος ἐν μόνῳ, θεὸς ἐν θεῷ, ῥαυατῆς καὶ οὐκ ὄντος διότι, λόγος ὡς ἐστίν, οὐσία

οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅτι ὁ δὲν συστάσας ἐκείνην, καὶ δύναμις ἡ ὅλης
κρίσεως ποιητὴν, ὡς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινὸς πατὴρ, ἀφ' ὧν
ἀρχαῖ, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἀφ' ὧν, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἀφ' ὧν,
καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ὡς πατὴρ
ἔχον, καὶ δι' ἡμῶν, διὰ τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰρημ
καὶ ἡμῶν, τελειὰ Πάτρια Ζωή, ζωὴν αἰῶνα, πᾶσι
ἀγίοις, ἀμαρτωλοῦς, ἐν ᾧ φάνηται Θεὸς ὁ πᾶσι
ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι καὶ Θεὸς ὁ ὡς ὁ δὲ πᾶσι,
τελὸς τελειὰ, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὡς ὡς,
καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἀφ' ὧν. Gregor. Neocesar.

§. 7. These are all the Creeds that I have met with, in which the Words are various, but generally recurring to the same Sense. It would be too tedious to translate them all; wherefore I shall sum them up in the Creed, commonly called the Apostles, and thereby shew their Congruity and Agreement, as also, what is in the Apostles Creed more than in these. Now the Articles of the Apostles Creed, that are to be found in the forementioned Creeds, are as follows:

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. The Third Day he rose again from the Dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Forgiveness of

Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting.

Here are now two Clauses of our present Creed wanting, viz. *He descended into Hell,* and, *The Communion of Saints.*

6. 8. If we would know how they were added, we must first consider how the whole Creed was framed, which I conceive was done these two ways.

First, Some of the Articles were derived down from the very Days of the Apostles.

Secondly, Others were afterwards added in opposition to Heresies, as they sprung up in the Church.

First, Some of the Articles were derived down from the very Days of the Apostles, such were these, *I believe in God the Father,* (or as the Greek Creeds read it, *in one God, the Father,* in opposition to the Polytheism of the Heathens) and *in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord,* *I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting.* For in the Days of the Apostles, as well as afterwards, it was the Practice at Baptism to demand the baptized Person's assent to the fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, as Philip did the Eunuch, *Acts 8. 37.* amongst which Fundamentals we may be certain they reckoned the Doctrine of the Trini-

ty, because they were baptized in the Name, and Dedicated to the Service of the Trinity; and that of the Unity of the Godhead, because it was the great drift and design of their Preaching to overturn the Pagans multiplicity of Deities; and that of the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting, because that was the Characteristick or Peculiar Doctrine of the Christian Religion, by which it was eminently distinguished from other Sects and Opinions, and was the only Comfort and support of the Christians under their Sufferings and Martyrdoms, according to that of St. Paul; 1 Cor. 15. 29 *If the Dead rise not at all, why are they then baptized for the Dead?*

As for the other Articles of the Creed, viz. Such as are predicated of Christ, as, *His being conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, &c.* and those other two, *the Holy Catholick Church, and, The Forgiveness of Sins,* I conceive them to be introduced the second way, viz. in opposition to Heresies, as they sprung up in the Church, as, *was conceived by the Holy Ghost, in opposition to the Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Cerinthians, who taught that Christ was born in the ordinary and common way as other Men and Women are: Was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, &c.* in contradiction to the *Doceta, Simonians,* and others, who affirmed Christ to be a Man, not really, but only Phaantastically, or in appearance; of which Hereticks Ignatius speaks, and against them his fore-mentioned Creed seems

¹ Ἀποὶ τοῦ λέγειν τὸ
ἀληθὲς αὐτὸν πεπρωμένον.
Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 2.

particularly to be levelled, *The Remission of Sins*, against the *Pasilidians*, who held that not all Sins, but only involuntarily ones would be remitted; or rather against the *Novatians*, who denied remission to the Lapsed: *The Holy Catholick Church*, to exclude thereby all Hereticks and Schismatics from being within the Pale thereof.

By these two ways then was the Creed composed, and by the latter hereof were those two Articles introduced, of Christ's Descent into Hell, and of the Communion of Saints. The Communion of Saints was brought in last of all. The Descent into Hell towards the latter end of the Fourth Century, into the manner and occasion whereof, as also the intent and meaning of this Article, I had designed once to enquire, having made some Collections concerning it; but finding I should be then forc'd to pass the Limits of my prescribed time, I have thought it expedient to omit it, and to return to those Points, from whence I have so long digressed.

CHAP. IV.

- §. 1. Of Godfathers. § 2. Exorcism preceded Baptism: The Form and Reason thereof. §. 3. Next came Baptism its self: The Sacramental Water consecrated by Prayer. §. 4. The Person Baptized in the Name of the Trinity. §. 5. Immersion, or dipping generally used. §. 6. Sometimes Perfusion, or Sprinkling. The Validity thereof considered. §. 7. After Baptism followed Prayers.

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter made a little Digression, I now return to the matter that first occasioned it, which was, the Questions proposed to the Persons to be Baptized, unto which Adult Persons answered for themselves, and *Susceptors*, or *Godfathers*, for Children. Of these *Susceptors*, or *Sponsors*, *Tertullian* speaks, where he thus adviseth the delay of Childrens Baptism; *What necessity is there that Sponsors should expose themselves in danger, who through Death may fail of the Performance of their Promises, or may be deceived by the wicked Disposition of those they promise for?* Whether the use of *Sponsors* was from the Apostles Days, I cannot determine, unless the Negative

¹ Quid enim necesse est sponsors etiam periculo ingeri, qui & ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, & proventu male indolis falli? De Baptismo. p. 603.

tive may be conjectured from *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian's* Senior by Fifty Years, who when he enumerates the Method and Form of Baptism, says not one Word of Sponsors or God-fathers, as may be seen in his *Second Apology*, Pag. 93, 94.

§. 2. When those Questions and Answers were ended, then followed Exorcization, the manner and end whereof was this: The Minister put his Hands on the Persons Head that was to be Baptized, and breathed in his Face, implying thereby the Exorcization, or expelling of the Devil or Evil Spirit from him, and a preparing of him for Baptism and Confirmation, when and where the good and holy Spirit was conferred and given.

This Practice I find mentioned by *Clement Alexandrinus*, who speaks of the *ἑξορκισμὸς*, or Exorcism before Baptism, but more fully by

some of those Bishops that were present at that famous Council of *Carthage*, held *Ann* 258. in whose Determinations, Exorcization is required as previous and antecedent to Baptism. Thus in that of *Crescent* Bishop of *Ger-*

ta, ³ I judge, saith he, that all *Hereticks and Schismaticks*, who would come to the *Catholick Church*, are not to be admitted, nisi exorcizari & baptizati prius fuerint. *Apud Cyprian. p. 445.*

mitted,

mitted, till they have been first Exorcized and Baptized. So also said, Lucius Bishop of Thibaris, ⁴ It is my Opinion that all Hereticks are to be exorcized and baptized. And thus more clearly Vincentius Bishop of Thibaris, ⁵ We know Hereticks to be worse than Heathens. If therefore they would turn and come to the Lord, we have a Rule of Truth, which the Lord commanded the Apostles, saying; Go, in my Name, lay on Hands, and cast out Devils, (Mark. 16. 17.) And in another place, Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (Matth. 28. 19.) Therefore first let them come by Imposition of Hands in Exorcism, and then by the Regeneration of Baptism, that so they may be made Partakers of Christ's Promises; but otherwise I think they cannot.

From this last Determination we may observe the Reason of these Exorcisms, which arose from a misunderstanding of Christ's Valedictory Speech to his Disciples in Mark 16,

⁴ Hæreticos — censco exorcizandos & baptizandos esse. *Ibid.* p. 447.

⁵ Hæreticos scimus pejores esse quam ethnicos, si, ergo conversi ad Dominum venire voluerint, habemus utique regulam veritatis, quam Dominus præcepto, divino mandavit Apostolis, dicens: Ite in nomine meo, manum imponite, Dæmonia expellite; & alio loco, ite, docete gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus sancti; ergo primo per manus impositionem in exorcismo; secundo per Baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire: alius autem fieri censco non debere. *Ibid.* p. 447.

17, &c. In the 16th Verse of that Chapter he commanded them to go forth preaching the Gospel, and to Baptize, which was to be an unalterable, perpetual Ministration to the end of the World. Then he proceeds to tell them, v. 17, 18. that for the speedier propagation of the Gospel, and that the Heathens might the more readily embrace it, he would confer on them, and the first Preachers thereof, the Gift of working Miracles; that in his Name they should cast out Devils, and speak with new Tongues, as they most eminently did at the Day of Pentecost; That they should take up Serpents, as *Paul* did at *Malta* without receiving any Injury; and if they drink any deadly thing, it should not hurt them; They should lay Hands on the Sick, and they should recover: All which they did, as Ecclesiastical Histories abundantly testify; and *St. Mark* closes this Chapter, and his Gospel, with saying, that when the Apostles went forth and Preached, *the Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the Word with Signs following.* So that these were extraordinary Actions peculiarly promised to the Apostles and first Preachers of the Faith of Christ.

But now it is evident from the forementioned Determination of *Vincentius* Bishop of *Thibaris*, that in his Age, they apprehended them to be like Baptism, ordinary and standing Administrations in the Church, and so mistaking in the Sense of the fore cited Text, introduced for an ordinary and constant Practice, that which was promised by Christ for an extraor-

inary and miraculous Gift. Christ promised his Apostles, the miraculous Power of casting Devils out of Bodies possessed by them: But these Fathers understood this Promise of the common Spiritual Effects of the Gospel, which, where it is believingly received, delivers that Person from the Delusion and Dominion of the Devil, under which we all naturally are, being by Nature Children of Wrath; and for the Declaration of this invisible Freedom and Deliverance, which they all thought to be in or about Baptism, they made use of this external Sign of Exorcism: just before Baptism, to declare thereby, that now the unclean Devil with all his Power and Tyranny was cast out of that Person; who was now going in and by Baptism, to be consecrated to the Service of a better Master, viz. of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, God blessed for evermore.

§. 3. When Exorcization was finished, then came Baptism its self; and the Person being ready to be Baptized, the Minister, by Prayer, consecrated the Water for that use, because it was not any Water, but

only ⁶ *that Water*, as *Sedulius* Bishop of Turbò writes, *which is sanctified in the Church by the Prayers of the Minister, that washeth away Sin.* It is true indeed, as *Tertullian* writes, ⁷ *That any Wa-*

⁶ *Aqua Sacerdotis prece & Ecclesia sanctificata abluit delicta. Ad. Concil. Caribag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

⁷ *Omnes Aquæ de prima Origenis Prærogative*

tiva Sacramentum sanctificationis. consequuntur invocato Deo, supervenit enim statim Spiritus de Cælis & aqua superest. sanctificans. *Eccl. De. Baptism. p. 598.*

⁸ Oportet ergo mundari & sanctificari aquam prius a Sacerdote ut possit Baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizator ablueret. *Epist. 70. §. 2. p. 211.*

ters may be applied to that use, but then God must be first Invoked, and then the Holy Ghost presently comes down from Heaven, moves upon them, and sanctifies them. Wherefore, saith Cyprian, ² The Water must be first cleansed and sanctified by the Priest, that by its washing it may wash away the Sins of them that is Baptized.

§. 4. The Water being Consecrated, the Person was then Baptized in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

² Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδοῦ. *Apolog. 77 p. 94.*

Διὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας πάντες τὸ ἐν ὁδοῦ τελευτῶν ἀπαλλάττονται. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑνὶ ὀνόματι. *Theod. Epitom. p. 573.*

and is now Sealed by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This Baptizing in the Name of the Tri-

So writes Justin Martyr, ² They are baptized in the Name of God the Father, Lord of all, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. *Rena- as Clement Alexandrinus says, ¹ The baptized Person by this Dedication to the Blessed Trinity, is delivered from the bondage of the World and the Flesh, the Father, Son, and Holy Trinity, Origin terms, ² The Invocation of the Adorable Trinity.*

² Τῆς ὁμολογίας τελευτῶν ἀπαλλάττονται. *Comment. in Johan. Vol. 2. Tom. 8. p. 124.*

§ 5. As for the Quantity of Water employed in Baptism, that is, whether they sprinkled, or dipped; to me it seems evident, that their usual Custom was to immerse or dip the whole Body. When St. Barnabas describes a baptized Person by his going down into the Water,

² We go down, saith he, into the Water full of Sin and Filth, but we ascend with Fruit and Benefit in our Hearts. And so Tertullian represents baptized Persons, as, ³ entred into the Water. And as ⁴ let down into the Water. And Justin Martyr describes the same ⁵ by being washed in Water; and calls the place where they are baptized ⁶ a washing-place, or a Bath; whence Firmilian inveighing against the Baptism of Hereticks, condemns it as carnal, and as being upon that account no whit ⁷ different from the Baptism or washing of the Jews, which they used as a common and ordinary Bath to wash away the Filth of their Bodies.

² Ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ βαπτισμὸν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γενομένης ἐκκαθάρσεως καὶ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμεῖς ἀναβάντες καρποποιεῖμεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. Epist. Cathol. §. 9. p. 235.

³ Aquam ingressi. De Spectaculis, p. 583.

⁴ In aqua demissus. De Baptismo. p. 597.

⁵ Ἐν τῷ ὕδατι λουεῖσθαι. Apolog. 2. p. 94.

⁶ Ibidem ut supra.

⁷ Nihil differit a Judæorum Baptismo, quo sic illi utuntur, & eo tantum communi & vulgari lavacro tantum sordet laventur. Apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. §. 11. p. 139.

§ 6. But though Immersion was their usual Custom, yet Perfusion or Sprinkling was not accounted unlawful; but in cases of necessity that was used, as in Blinic Baptism, which was, when sick Persons, whose Deaths they apprehended, were Baptized in their Beds, as *Novatian* ⁸ being sick, and near

⁸ Νίσεα ασθενέσων χερε-
την. ὃ ὑποκινώσας θαν-
εῖν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου, ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἢ ἐκείνῃ
ἀερχοῦντος ἔλαβεν. Epist.
Cornel. ad Fabium An-
tioch. apud Euseb. lib.
6. cap. 43. p. 245.

Death, as was supposed,
was Baptized in his Bed by
Perfusion, or, Pouring on
of Water.

It is true indeed, this
Baptism was not gene-
rally esteemed as perfect,
as the more solemn Baptism; for which Rea-
son it was a Custom in some Churches, not to
advance any to Clerical Orders, who had been
so Baptized; an instance whereof we have in
the Church of *Rome*, where the Ordination of

⁹ Διακονήσαντες ὑπὸ
πείσῃ τῇ κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ λαϊκῶν, πολλῶν ἔπει-
μι ἔχοντες ἢ ἐν κλίνῃ.
διὰ τούτων ἀερχοῦντος εἰς
κλῆρον πνὴ γινώσκει. Ex
Epist. Cornel. ad Fabi-
um Antioch. apud Euseb.
lib. 6. cap. 43. p.
245.

Novatian to be a Presby-
ter, was ⁹ opposed by all
the Clergy, and by many of
the Laity, as unlawful, be-
cause of his Clerical Perfu-
sion. But yet that they
held it not altogether, or
absolutely unlawful to be
done, appears from that
on the Intreaties of the

Bishop they consented that he should be or-
dained, as he accordingly was: And *Cyprian*
in a set Discourse on this Subject, declares, that
he thought this Baptism to be as perfect and
valid,

valid, as that done more solemnly by Immerfion; for when one *Magnus* writ to him, defiring his Opinion, whether those were truly baptized, who, through their Infirmities, were not dip't, but only perfused or aspers'd, he answer'd:

Nos quantum concipit mediocritas nostra, æstimamus in nullo mutari & debilitari posse divina beneficia, nec minus aliquid illis posse contingere, ubi plena & tota fide & dantis & sumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim sic in Sacramento Salutari delictorum contagia, ut in lavacro carnali & seculari fordes cutis & corporis abluuntur, utaphronitris & cæteris quoque adjumentis, & Solio & Piscina opus sit, quibus ablui & mundari corpusculum possit. Aliter pectus credentis abluitur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur. In Sacramentis salutaribus necessitate cogente, & Deo indulgentiam suam

That as far as he could conceive, he apprehended that the Divine Benefits could in no wise be mutilated, or weakned, nor that less thereof could be bestowed, where the Divine Gifts are received with a sound, and full Faith, both of Giver and Receiver: For in Baptism, the Spots of Sin are other-wise washed away, than the Filth of the Body in a Secular and Carnal Bath is, in which there is need of a Seat to sit upon, of a Vat to wash in, of Soap, and other such like Implements, that so the Body may be washed and cleansed; but in another manner is the Heart of a Believer

largiente, totum creden-
tibus conferunt Divinia
compendia. Nec quem-
quam movere debet,
quod aspergi vel perfun-
di videantur ægri, cum
gratiam dominicam con-
sequuntur, quando Scrip-
tura sancta per Ezechielem
Prophetam loquatur &
dicat, & aspergam super
vos aquam mundam, &
mundabimini ab omnibus
immunditiis vestris, &
ab omnibus simulachris
vestris emundabo vos, &
dabo vobis cor novum, &
Spiritus novum dabo in
vobis. Item in Nume-
ris, & homo qui fuerit
immundus usque ad ves-
peram, hic purificabitur
die tertio, & die septimo
& mundus erit; si au-
tem non fuerit purifica-
tus die tertio, & die sep-
timo, non erit mundus,
& exterminabitur anima
illa de Israël, quoniam a-
qua asperfusionis non est
super eum sparsa. Et
iterum, & locutus est
Dominus ad Moysen, di-
cens, accipe Levitas de

liever washed, other-
wise is the Mind of a
Man purified by the
Merits of Christ. In
the Sacraments of Sal-
vation through the In-
dulgence of God in
Cases of Necessity, the
Divine Abridgments
convey the whole to
those that believe;
Nor let any one think
it strange, that the
Sick, when they are
Baptized, are only
persuaded or sprinkled,
since the Scripture
says, by the Prophet
Ezekiel, Chap. 36.
v. 25, 26. I will sprin-
kle clean Water upon
you, and ye shall be
clean; from all your
Filthinesses, and from
all your Idols will I
cleanse you; a new
Heart also will I give
you, and a new Spirit
will I put within you.
Also it is laid in
Numbers, chap. 19.
19, 20. And the Man
which shall be unclean
to the Evening, he
medio

medio Finiorum Israel, & purificabis eos, & ita facies eis purificationem eorum; circumsparges eos aqua purificationis; & iterum, aqua asperfusionis purificatio est. Unde apparet asperfusionem quoque aquæ instar salutaris lavacri obtinere; & quando hæc in ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit & dantis & accipientis fides integra; stare omnia & consummari ac perfici posse maiestate Domini & Fidei veritate. *Epist. 76. §. 9. p. 249, 250.*

shall be purified the third Day, and the seventh Day, and he shall be clean; but if he shall not be purified the third Day, and the seventh Day, he shall not be clean, and that Soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the Water of Asperfusion hath not been sprinkled on him. And again the Lord spake unto Moses, Numb. 8. v. 6, 7. Take the Levites from among the Children of Israel, and cleanse them;

and thus shalt thou do unto them to cleanse them, sprinkle Water of Purifying upon them. And again, the Water of Asperfusion is Purification; From whence it appears, that sprinkling is sufficient instead of Immersion; and whensoever it is done, if there be a sound Faith of Giver and Receiver it is perfect and compleat.

And a little after in the same Epistle, the said Father argues the Validity of Baptizing by Sprinkling, because such as had been so Baptized, were never Baptized again.

Aut si aliquis existimat eos nihil consecutos, *If, saith he, any shall think that such*
co

eo quod aqua salutari
tantum perfusi sunt, sed
inanes & vacuos esse;
non decipiantur, & si in-
commodum languoris e-
vaserint & convaluerint,
baptizentur. Si autem
baptizari non possunt,
qui jam baptismo Eccle-
siastico sanctificati sunt,
cur in fide sua & Domini
indulgentia scandalizan-
tur? *Idem Ibid. §. 10.*
p. 250.

have not obtained the
Grace of God, but are
void and empty there-
of, because they have
been only Perfused
with the Saving Eu-
cher ; Let not such
then that have been
so Baptized, deceive
themselves ; but if
they recover their
Health, let them be
Baptized ; but if they
cannot be Baptized,
as having been already

Sanctified with the Ecclesiastical Baptism, why
then are they scandalized in their Faith, and in
the Mercy of God.

So that Sprinkling or Perfusion was esteem-
ed valid, and seems to be always used in Cases
of Necessity, as Immersion was in their ordi-
nary Publick Baptism, when as *Tertullian*

¹ Ter mergitamar. *De*
Coron. Milia. p. 336.

writes, ² they dipped the
Baptized Person three
times under Water, that

is, dipping him once

at the naming of each
Person of the Holy Tri-
nity. ³ *We are*, says the
foresaid Father, dipped
at the naming of each
Person.

² Nos semel, sed ter, ad
singula nomina in per o-
nas singulas tingimur.
Advers. Prax. p. 229.

§ 7. When Baptism was over, the Person
that had been then Baptized, as *Justin Martyr*
relates

relates it, ³ was received into the number of the Faithful, who then sent up their Publick Prayers to God for all Men, for themselves, and for him that had been Baptized.

After which the Baptized Person, as the said Father goes on to write,

was admitted to receive the other Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the rest of the Faithful. So that in *Justin Martyr's* Age, at least in his Country at that Season, it seems very probable that there followed only Prayers after Baptism. But not long after his time, we meet with many other Ceremonies then used, which because they have some Relation to our present Controversies, I shall mention in the following Chapter.

³ Ἡμεῖς δὲ μὲν τὸ ἐκ
λαοῦ καὶ πεπιστωμένων καὶ
συνεχόμενων ἐκείνων
τὰς λειτουργίας ἀδελφοὶ
ἀλλήλων ἔνθα ἀνακατα-
στήσομεν εὐχὰς κοινὰς
ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων καὶ
τὸ παλαιῶν καὶ ἄλλων
πανταχὲς ἐκείνων ἐκείνων.
Apolog. 2. p. 97.

C H A P. V.

§ 1. After Baptism followed Chrismation, or Unction. § 2. Then Signation, or Signing with the Sign of the Cross. § 3. Then Imposition of Hands, or Confirmation. § 4. Their Reasons for Unction. § 5. For Signation. § 6. For Imposition of Hands. § 7. Confirmation immediately followed Baptism, § 8. Presbyters confirmed as well as Bishops. § 9. Confirmation reiterated.

§ 1. **A**S for those Rites that succeeded Baptism, and which we find first mentioned in *Tertullian*, they were in number three, viz. *Unction, Signation, and Imposition of Hands*; or if the Reader pleases, he may call them all by the Name of Confirmation.

Touching Unction or Chrismation, *Tertulli-*

¹ *Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta Unctione— in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit. De Baptism. p. 599, 600.*

² *Ungi quoque necesse est eum, baptizatus sit, ut accepto Chrismate, id est, Unctione, esse Unctus Dei, & habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Epist. 70. §. 3. p. 211.*

an thus writes, As soon as we are baptized, we are anointed with the blessed Unction— An external carnal Unction is poured upon us, but is spiritually advantageous. And to the same purpose says his Follower Cyprian, He that is baptized must of necessity be anointed, that having received the Chrism or Unction, he may be the Anointed of God, and

have him in the Grace of Christ.

§ 2.

§ 2. Under this Crismation was comprehend-
 ed Signation, or the Signing of the Baptized
 Person with the Sign of the Cross, which the
 Minister performed with this Oynment or
 Chrism. So saith Ter-
 tullian, ³ *The Flesh is a-*
nointed; that the Soul may
be consecrated. And then
it follows, The Flesh is
Signed, that the Soul may
be fortified. This Sign was made in the Fore-
 head, as Cyprian observes, that King Uzzias
 for invading the Priest's
 Office, ⁴ *was smit with a*
Leprosie on his Forehead,
and mark'd by an offended
God on that place where
those are mark'd whom
God Receives. Hence he
 calls a Christians Fore-
 head, ⁵ *A Signed Fore-*
head; and thus elegant-
 ly exhorts the People
 of Thibaris in Allusion hereunto, to take unto
 themselves the whole Armour of God, menti-
 oned Ephes. 6. 12. ⁶ *To*
take unto themselves for a
Covering for their Head,
the Helmet of Salvation,
that their Ears might be
fortified against their Per-
secutors Edits, that their
Eyes might be strengthened
against the beholding of

³ Caro unguetur, ut a-
 nima consecretur, caro
 signatur, ut & anima
 muniat. De Resurrect.
 Carnis. p. 31.

⁴ Lepra varietate in
 fronte maculatus est, ea
 parte corporis notatus
 offenso Domino, ubi sig-
 nantur qui Dominum
 promerentur. De Unit.
 Eccles. § 16, p. 301.

⁵ Frontis etiam Signo.
 De Lapsis, § 1. p. 277.

⁶ Accipiamus quoque ad
 tegumentum capitis. Ga-
 leam salutarem, ut mu-
 niantur aures, ne adiant
 edicta secularia; muniantur
 oculi ne videant: adde-
 stantia simulacra: mu-
 niantur frons ut signum
 Dei incutiamus: servatur.
 Epist. 36. § 7. p. 146.
 detestabile

desirable Images, that their Forehead might be Purified, that so the Sign of God might be kept inviolable. So Pontius speaks of certain Confessors, who by the Cruelty of their Tormentors

Confessores frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos: *in Vita Cypriani.*

had their Foreheads marked a Second Time.

It is observed by Tertullian, that the Devil strives to be God's Ape,

imitating the Acts of his Worship and Service, and prescribing the same to his Deluded Adorers, as particularly in the Idolatrous Services

Tingit & ipse quodam, utique credentes & fideles suos: expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit; & sic initiat Michra, signat illic in frontibus milites suos. *De Prescript. advers. Marc. p. 87.*

of Mithras,⁸ whose Priests baptized some as his Believing and Faithful Servants, and Sign'd them in their Foreheads as his Soldiers.

Hands, or that which most properly we term Confirmation, which was, the Minister laid his Hands on the Head of the Party Baptized: Anointed and Signed, and prayed that the Holy Ghost would be pleased to descend, and rest upon him: This immediately followed Signation, as that did Unction. So saith Tertullian,

Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur; caro signatur, ut & anima huiusmodi; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & anima spiritu illuminetur. *De Baptismo. Cap. 8. p. 34.*

§ 3. To Signation succeeded Imposition of

The Flesh is anointed that the Soul may be consecrated; the Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be

De Baptismo. Cap. 8. p. 34.

handed

fortified. The Flesh is overshadowed with the Imposition of Hands, that the Soul may be enlightened by the Spirit. And when the Unction is finished, then Hands are imposed with Prayers invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit.

Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum sanctum. De Baptismo. p. 600.

§ 4. Having thus briefly shewn what their Additional Acts to Baptism were, it will in the next place be necessary to enquire into the Grounds or Reasons of their usage of them; and first for Unction: This was taken from the Jewish Rites, where it was employed in the installation of the High Priest, to denote his Sacerdotal Consecration to the Service of God, as Tertullian writes, ² This Unction is according to the Jewish Dispensation, wherein the High Priest was anointed with Oyl out of an Horn, as Aaron was by Moses. So soon in the times of the being, as Tertullian says, ³ Priests, to God and the Father. They were in resemblance thereunto consecrated by the anointing of Oyl to their Priesthood; as, as the fore said Father expresses ⁴ The Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be consecrated.

² De pristina Disciplina, quæ ungi oleo de cornu in Sacerdotio solebant, ex quo Aaron a Moyse unctus est. De Baptismo. p. 600.

Gospel; all Christian

³ Nomen & Latet Sacerdotes Iuvens? Scriptum est Regnum quoddam nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit. Exhort. ad Castitatem. p. 457.

⁴ Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur. De Sacramentis. Carnis. p. 53.

From the Spiritual Unction also of God the Son, by God the Father, for which reason he was called *Christ*, or *Anointed*, they pleaded for their carnal and external Unction, as *Tertullian* saith,

Christus dicitur & Christumate quod est unctio, quæ Domino nomen accomodavit, facta Spiritualis, quia Spiritus unctus est à Deo patre, sicut in Actis: Collecti sunt enimvero in ista civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum quem unxisti: Sic & in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit.
De Bapt. p. 600.

Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto Christmate, id est, Unctione, esse unctus Dei, & habere in se gratiam Christi possit.
Epist. 7a. § 3. P. 211.

** Jesus is called Christ from being anointed, which Unction was Spiritual, because whilst only a Spirit, he was anointed by the Father, as in the Acts. They are gathered together in this City against thy Holy Son, whom thou hast anointed; but our Unction is Carnal, though it spiritually profits.*

Cyprian adds this further Reason for this Custom of Anointing, viz.

** He that is Baptized, must of necessity receive the Christm, or Unction, that so he may be the Anointed of God, and have in him the Grace of Christ.*

§ 5: As for Signation, or the Signing with the Sign of the Cross: By this was denoted, That they were to be strong and valiant in the Cause of Christ, having their Hearts fortified and strengthened, as *Tertullian* observes,

in Caro signatur, ut anima muniat. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.

** The Flesh is Sign'd, that the Soul may be fortified. Hence this Sign was made*

made

made on an open, visible place, on their Foreheads; which is the Seat of Courage and Confidence; implying thereby, that they ought courageously and constantly to fight like good Soldiers 'under the Cross of Christ; whence Tertullian says, that as the Christians, so the Priests of *Misbras*. ⁸ Sign'd the Foreheads of their Soldiers.

⁸ Signat illic in frontibus milites suos. *De præscript adv. Hæret.* p. 87.

§ 6. As for the very Act of Confirmation, or Imposition of Hands, that was practis'd from an Opinion of the Imperfection of Baptism, that that did not convey the Graces of the Holy Spirit, but only prepared Persons for the reception of them, when they should be actually bestow'd in the Confirmation, for as

Tertullian says, ⁹ We do not receive the Holy Ghost in Baptism, but being purg'd therein by the Angel, (alluding to the Angel that mov'd upon the Pool at Bethsaida) we are prepared for the Holy Ghost. And, ¹ When our Bodies are cleansed and blessed, then that most Holy Spirit willingly descends from the Father. And ² at the Imposition of Hands, the Soul is illuminated by the Spirit.

⁹ Non quod in aquis Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua mundati sub Angelo Spiritu sancto præparamur. *De Baptism.* p. 599.

¹ Tunc ille sanctissimus Spiritus super emundata & beoedicta corpora libens à patre descendit. *Ibid.* p. 600.

² Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & anima spiritu illuminetur. *De Resurrect. Carnis.* p. 31.

Cyprian in his 74th Epistle, §. 6, 7, 8, &c. describes somewhat largely of this Custom of Confirmation; from whence I have observed

Non per manus impositionem quis nascitur, quando accipis Spiritum Sanctum sed in baptismo, ut Spiritum jam natus accipiat, sicut in primo homine Adam factum est. Ante enim Deus eum plasmavit, & tunc insufflavit in faciem ejus flatum vite, nec enim potest accipi Spiritus, nisi prius fuerit qui accipiat. §. 6. p. 230.

this following Account of it: *Everyone in a*

State of Heathenism and Idolatry was considered as dead; wherefore when any one came from that State to the Christian Faith, he was said to live; which Life may be compared to a natural Life: As to complete a Natural Life, there must be a Body and a Soul, so must the same be imagin'd in a Spiritual

Life: As in the first Creation, God first form'd the Body of Man, and then breathed into him the Breath of Life; first made a fit Subject to receive the Soul, before the Soul its self was framed: So in the second Creation, God first prepares the Man, before he gives his Spirit; he first makes the Man a fit Temple for the Holy Ghost, before he gives the Holy Ghost. Now the way by which a Man is prepar'd and fitted, is by Baptism, by which he is cleansed and purged from Sin, and fitted for the Reception of the Spirit of God, in which respect he is to be regarded as a Body; The way by which the Holy Ghost is infused, which as a living Soul must actuate and direct that prepar'd Body, is by Prayer and Imposition of Hands; or by Confirmation. For as

Cyprian

Cyprian writes in the same place, ⁴ *Baptism alone cannot purge away Sin, or sanctify a Man, unless he has also the Holy Ghost.* That is, has received Confirmation, as it is frequently styl'd in Cyprian's Epistles. In the Decrees of the Council of Carthage, and in the Letter of Cornelius to Fabius Bishop of Amioch, extant in Eusebius, Lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244. This being the Regeneration of the Spirit, and Baptism the Regeneration of Water, both which our Saviour affirmed to be necessary, when he said unto Nicodemus, John 3. 5. *Except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* As Nemesisianus Bishop of Thukunis saith, one is not sufficient without the other, ⁵ *the Spirit cannot operate without Water, nor the Water without the Spirit.* Therefore it was necessary to be regenerated by both Sacraments, viz. By Baptism and by Confirmation. Wherefore, as Cyprian exhorts, we must pray, ⁶ *That those who are yet Earthly, may become Heavenly, and be born of the Water and the Spirit.* That is, be Baptized and Confirm-

⁴ Peccata enim purgare, & hominem sanctificare aqua sola non potest, nisi habeat & Spiritum sanctum, § 7. p. 239.

⁵ Neque enim Spiritus sine aqua operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu ——— utroque Sacramento debere eos renasci in Ecclesia Catholica, *Alt. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.*

⁶ Ut qui adhuc sunt prima nativitate terreni, incipiant esse celestes, ex Aqua & Spiritu nati. *De Orat. Dominici. § 12. p. 213.*

ed, which were the external Signs of Cleansing from Sin, and bestowing Grace; both being necessary to make a complete Christian; for as

the same Father writes,

7. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari, & esse filii Dei possunt, si Sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu, non poterit introire in regnum Dei. Epist. 62, §. 1. P. 216,

Then: are Men truly sanctified, and fully become the Sons of God, when they are regenerated with both Sacraments, Baptism and Confirmation; according as it is written, Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter in-

to the Kingdom of God. So that though a Person was Baptized; yet they accounted his Christianity incomplete and imperfect till he was also confirmed: For which reason Con-

firmation objects against Novatian, that he scarcely acknowledged him a complete Christian, because being baptized in his Bed, he had not received Confirmation, or the Ad-ditionary Rituals to Baptism, nor did he ever after receive them.

* Νόσω δειπνῶν χαλεπῶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἦν καὶ ἡ σφοδρὴ ἐλαβὲν αἰγὴ χαλεπὴν ἔπειτα εἰληφέναι, & μετὰ αὐτὴν λοιπὸν πορεύτο διὰ τὴν πλὴν τὴν, ὡς καὶ μετὰ λαβέντων αὐτὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὅτι τὴν σφοδρὴν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν. Epist. ad Fab. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 43. P. 244.

Thus you see the Reasons they produced for this Usage, to fortify which; they added some Examples of the Holy Writ, as Tertullian cites to this purpose the Example of Jacob

in

in ⁹ Genesis, who put his
Hands on the Heads of
Ephraim and Manasse,
and blessed them... And
Cyprian urges that In-
stance of the Apostles,
Acts 8. 15, 17. where,

after several of the Sa-
maritans had been baptized by Philip, Peter and
James conferred the Holy Ghost on them by
Imposition of Hands,

They had no need again
to be Baptized, saith he,
having been baptized by
Philip, but only what was
wanting or lacking, was
performed by Peter and
John, which was, that by
Prayer, and Imposition of
Hands, the Holy Ghost
should be conferred on
them; which Custom, as
he there adds, is now ob-
served by us, that those
who are Baptized in the
Church, are offered to the
Governours thereof, by
whose Prayer and Imposi-
tion of Hands, they re-
ceive the Holy Ghost, and
are compleated with the

Lord's Seal. To this Practice also Firmilian
refers that action of St. Paul, in Acts 19. 5.
Where on those who had been only Baptized by

Est hoc quoque de
veteri instrumento quo
nepotes suos ex Joseph
Esrem & Manassem, Ja-
cob capitibus impositis
& intermutatis manibus
benedixerit. De Baptism.
p. 600.

Quia legitimum &
ecclesiasticum, baptis-
mum consecuti fuerant,
baptizari eos ultra non
oportebat: Sed tantum-
modo quod deerat id a
Petro & Johanne factum
est, ut oratione pro eis
habita, & manu imposi-
ta, invocaretur & infun-
deretur super eos Spiritus
sanctus. Quod nunc
quoque apud nos geri-
tur, ut qui in Ecclesia
baptizantur, præpositis
Ecclesie offerantur, &
per nostram orationem
ac manus impositionem
Spiritus Sanctum con-
sequantur, & signaculo
dominici consumme-
tur. Epist. 73. § 2. p.
220.

John

* Hos qui ab Johanne baptizati fuerint, priusquam missus esset a Domino, Spiritus Sanctus baptizavit denuo Spiritu-ali baptismo, & sic eis manum imposuit, ut acciperent Spiritum sanctum. *Apud Cyprian Epist.* 75. § 7. p. 237.

P. Innocentius hoc esse ab Apostolis custoditum, ut in domo Cornelii Cenerationis super Ethnicos qui illic aderant, Fidei calore ferventes, descenderet Spiritus Sanctus, &c. *Epist.* 75. § 1. p. 216.

* John's Baptism, being deferred the Holy Ghostly Imposition of Hands. And Cyprian applies to Confirmation the Descent of the Holy Ghost, which is in 44. in miraculous Operations and Gifts of Tongues as Cornelius and his Friends, though they were not then Baptized.

So much now for the Reasons of Confirmation; all that I shall do more, is to add two or

three Observations concerning it.

§. 7. The first whereof is, That Confirmation was an immediate Consequent of Baptism; it was not deferred till many Years after, but was presently administered, as *Tertullian* writes,

* Egressi de lavacro per-nuogimur benedicta Un-ctione—dehinc ma-nus imponitur. *De Bap-tism.* p. 539. p. 600.

* As soon as we come out of the Baptismal Laver, we are anointed, and then we are confirmed. Else if they had not been so soon confirmed, they

must, notwithstanding their Baptism, according to their Opinions, as it hath been before demonstrated, have continued graceless, without the Adorning Gifts of the Holy Spirit, a long time, even as long as their Confirmation

was

was delayed, which to imagine concerning them is unreasonable and uncharitable.

Indeed in case of Necessity, when they had neither time nor conveniency it was wayed, as Immersion was with respect to Baptism; but yet if the sick Person happened to recover, he was then to be confirmed, as is evident from the Case of Novatian, whom Cornelius accuses, because *when he was restored to his Health again, he was not confirmed according to the Canon of the Church.* But otherwise Confirmation immediately, or at the same time followed Baptism.

Ὁ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν τὸν νοσηρὸν
ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῷ ῥο-
σόν; ἐν χρόνῳ μὲν παραμυ-
νεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν
ἔργον τῷ τε σφραγισθέντι
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. *Apud
Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p.
244.*

§ 8. From the former Observation there follows this, that not only the Bishop, but also his Presbyters or Curates did by his Permission, and in his Absence confirm: For if Confirmation always succeeded Baptism, then whenever Baptism was, there was also Confirmation. Now as for Baptism, we may reasonably suppose, that in a Church there were some fit to be baptized at least once a year; and sometimes it might happen that either the See was vacant, or the Bishop through Persecution might be absent from his Flock so long a time, as Cyprian was double the space; and if so, must no Persons have been Baptized within that time by reason of the Bishop's unavoidable Absence? That seems a little hard, since, as was said before,

fore, they esteemed Baptism and Confirmation necessary to Salvation, and to deprive those Souls of Salvation, that died within that time, because they had not been confirmed by the Bishop, which was impossible, would be too severe and uncharitable.

Besides, that Presbyters did Baptize, we have proved already; and since Confirmation was done at the same time with Baptism, it is very reasonable to conclude, that he that did the one, performed the other also.

But, that Presbyters did confirm, will appear most evidently from this very Consideration, *viz.* That the Imposition of Hands on Persons just after Baptism, which we call Confirmation, and the Imposition of Hands at the Restitution of Offenders, which we call Absolution, was one and the self same thing, Confirmation and Absolution being only terms that we make use of, to distinguish the different times of the Performances of the same Thing or Ceremony. The Thing or Ceremony was not different, Imposition of Hands was used both at one and the other, denoting the same Mystical Signification, *viz.* The Conferring of the Holy Ghost and his Graces on that Person on whom Hands were imposed: Only now to distinguish the time of this Imposition of Hands whether after Baptism, or at the Reconciliation of Offenders; these two Terms of Confirmation and Absolution are used by us, the former to signify that used just after Baptism, and the latter, that that was employed at the Restitution of Penitents.

This

This now, viz. That Confirmation and Absolution were one and the self same thing, I shall presently prove: And then in the next place I shall shew, that with the Bishop, and sometimes without the Bishop, Presbyters did Absolve by Imposition of Hands. And if these two Points can be clearly manifested, it will evidently follow that Presbyters did confirm; for if there was no difference between Confirmation and Absolution, but only with respect to time; and if Presbyters at one time, viz. at Absolution conferred the Holy Ghost by Imposition of Hands, it is very unreasonable to deprive them of the same Power at the other time, which was at Confirmation. If Presbyters could at one season bestow the Holy Spirit, it is very probable that they could do the same at the other also.

Now as to the first Point, viz. That there was no difference between Confirmation and Absolution, but that they were one and the same thing; This will appear most evidently from the consideration of that famous Controversie, touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptism; between *Stephen Bishop of Rome*, and *Cyprian Bishop of Carthage*; or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, the Sum whereof was this, *Stephen Bishop of Rome* asserted, That those who were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholick Church, should be received only by Imposition of Hands. *Cyprian Bishop of Carthage* contended, that besides Imposition of Hands, they should also be baptized, unless that they had been before baptiz'd by the Orthodox, in which

which Case Imposition of Hands should be esteemed sufficient. Now this Imposition of Hands they sometimes term that which we call Confirmation, and sometimes Absolution, promiscuously using either of those Expressions, and indifferently applying them according as they pleased, in one place giving it the Title of Confirmation, and in another that of Absolution, which that they did, I shall endeavour to evince, by shewing;

First, That they called this Imposition of Hands Confirmation.

Secondly, That they called it Absolution.

First, I shall prove that they called it Confirmation; unto which end let us consider these following Passages;

⁹. *Hos qui sint foris extra Ecclesiam tincti — quando ad nos; atque ad Ecclesiam quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere, eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant & Ecclesiæ baptismum. Tuus enim deum plene sanctificari & esse Filii Dei possunt, si Sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu non potest intrare in regnum Dei. Epist. 72. § 1. p. 216.*

⁹. *These, says Cyprian, which are baptized without the Church, when they come unto us, and unto the Church which is but one, they are to be baptized, because the Imposition of Hands by Confirmation, is not sufficient without Baptism, for then they are fully sanctified, and become the Sons of God, when they are born with both Sacraments; according as it is written, Unless a Man be born again of the Water and of the Spirit,*

he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. To the same effect says Nemessianus Bishop of Eburnis

basis. ⁷ Those do greatly err, who affirm that they ought only to be confirmed by Imposition of Hands, and so to be received, since it is manifest they must be regenerated with both Sacraments in the Catholick Church. And Secundinus Bishop of Carpis determined, that ⁸ on Hereticks who are the Seed of Antichrist, the Holy Ghost cannot be conferred by Imposition of Hands alone in Confirmation.

Stephen pleaded on his side. ⁹ That the very Name of Christ was so advantageous to Faith and the Sanctification of Baptism, that in what place soever any one was baptized in that Name, he immediately obtained the Grace of Christ. But unto this Firmilian briefly replies, That if the Baptism of Hereticks, because done in the Name of Christ, was sufficient to purge away Sins, why was not Confirmation, that was performed in the Name of the same Christ, sufficient to bestow the Holy Ghost too? And therefore it is thus eagerly argued

7 Male sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant quod per manus impositionem Spiritum sanctum accipiant, & sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque Sacramento debere eos renasci in Ecclesia Catholica. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.*

⁸ Super filios alienos, & Soboles Antichristi Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem tantummodo non posse descendere. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

⁹ Sed in multum, inquit, proficit nomen Christi ad fidem & baptismi Sanctificationem usquecunque & ubicunque in nomine Christi baptizatus fuerit, consequatur statim gratiam Christi, quando huic loco brevitur occurri possit, & dici, quoniam si in nomine Christi valuit foris baptisma ad hominem purgandum, in ejusdem Christi nomine valere illic potuit & manus impositio ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum. *Apud Cyprian Epist. 75. §. 16. p. 240.*

* Qui Hereticis five Schismaticis patrocinantur, respondeant nobis habeant ne Spiritum Sanctum, an non habeant? Si habent, cur illic baptizatis, quando ad nos veniunt, manus imponitur ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, cum iam utique illic acceptus sit ubi il fuit, dari potuit? Si autem foris cuncti Heretici & Schismatici non habent Spiritum Sanctum, & ideo apud nos manus imponitur, ut hic accipiantur, quod illic nec est, nec dari potest; manifestum est nec remissionem peccatorum dari per eos posse, quos constat Spiritum Sanctum non habere. Epist. 76. § 8. p. 249.

the Spirit of God, and therefore we lay Hands on them in Confirmation, that they may here receive, what Hereticks neither have, nor can give; it is manifest, that since they have not the Holy Ghost, they cannot give remission of Sins. That is, since they cannot Confirm, therefore they cannot Baptize. So that, from

* Cyprian. Epist. 73. § 8. p. 220. & § 19. p. 224. Epist. 74. § 6. 7. 8. p. 230. Firmilian apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 7. p. 237. & § 11. p. 249.

that which we now call Confirmation.

by Cyprian, * Why do they, saith he, (meaning Stephen and his Party, who received Hereticks by Imposition of Hands only) patronize Hereticks and Schismaticks, let them answer us, have they the Holy Ghost, or have they not? If they have, why then do they lay Hands on those that are baptized by them, when they come over to us, to bestow on them the Holy Ghost, when they had received him before; for if he was there, they could confer him? But if Hereticks and Schismaticks have not

these and * some other Passages, which to avoid tediousness I omit; it is clear, that both Stephen and Cyprian understood by Imposition of Hands,

Secondly,

Secondly, I now come to shew, that they also termed it Absolution, as will appear from these following Instances. † They (says Cyprian, meaning Stephen and his Followers) urge, that in what they do, they follow the old Custom, that was used by the Ancients when Heresies and Schisms first began, when those that went over to them, first were in the Church, and baptized therein, who when they returned again to the Church, and did Penance, were not forced to be baptized. But this, says he, makes nothing against us, for we now observe the very same; Those who were baptized here, and from us went over to the Hereticks. if afterwards being sensible of their Error they return to the Church, we only absolve them by the Imposition of Hands, because once they were Sheep, and as wandering and straying Sheep, the Shepherd receives them into his Flock; but if those that come from Hereticks were not first baptized in the Church, they are to be baptized, that they may become Sheep; for there is but one Holy Water in the Church, that makes Sheep.

† Et dicunt se in hoc veterem consuetudinem sequi, quando apud veteres Hæreses & Schismatum prima adhuc fuerint initia, ut hi illic essent, qui de Ecclesia recedebant, & hic baptizati prius fuerant; quos tamen ad Ecclesiam revertentes, & penitentiam agentes, necesse non erat baptizare, quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos confitet hic baptizatos esse, & à nobis ad Hæreticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito & errore digesto, ad veritatem et matricem redeant, satis sit in penitentiam manum imponere: ut quia ovis jam fuerat, hæc ovem ab alienatam & errabundam in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem qui ab Hæreticia venit, baptizatus in Ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum & profanus venit: baptizandus est, ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in Ecclesia sancta quæ oves faciat. Epist. 71. § 2. p. 214.

But that this Imposition of Hands was the same with Absolution, will most evidently appear from the Opinion or Determination of Stephen, and from Cyprian's Answer thereunto.

Stephen's Opinion or Determination was

1 Si quis ergo à quacunque Hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam. *Apost. Cyprian. Epist. 74. § 1. p. 229.*

If any shall from any Heresy come unto us, let nothing be innovated or introduced besides the old Tradition, which is, that Hands be imposed on him as a Penitent. Now un-

to that part of this Decree which asserts the Reception of Hereticks only by Absolution, or the Imposition of Hands in Penance to be a Tradition, descended down from their Pre-

decessors. *Cyprian replies, 2 That he would observe it as a Divine and Holy Tradition, if it were either commanded in the Gospel, and the Epistles of the Apostles, or contained in the Acts, that those who came from Hereticks should not be baptized, but only Hands imposed*

2 Si ergo autem evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis, aut Actibus continetur, ut à quacunque Hæresi venientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis imponatur in Pœnitentiam, observetur hæc divina & sancta traditio. *Ibid. § 2. p. 229.*

on them for Penance, or, as Penitents; but that

3 Retro nusquam omnino præceptum est, neque conscriptum, ut Heretico tantum manus in pœnitentiam imponatur, & sic ei communicetur. *Ibid. § 4. p. 229.*

for his part, 3 he never found it either commanded or written, that an Heretick Hands should be only imposed for Penance, and so be should be admitted to Communion. Wherefore

ore he on his side concludes and determins,
Let it therefore be observed, and held by us, that all who from any Heresy are converted to the Church, be baptized with the one lawful Baptism of the Church, except those who were formerly baptized in the Church, who when they return, are to be received by the alone Imposition of Hands after Penance into the flock, from whence they have strayed.

1. Observetur itaque a nobis & teneatur — ut omnes qui ex quacunque Hæresi ad Ecclesiam convertuntur, Ecclesie unico legitimo baptismo baptizantur, exceptis his qui baptizati in Ecclesia prius fuerant, & sic ad Hæreticos transierant; hos enim oportet, cum redeant, acta poenitentiae per manus impositionem solam recipi; & in civile, unde erraverant, a Pastore restitui. *Ibidem* §. 16. p. 232.

So that these Instances do as clearly prove, that they meant by their Imposition of Hands, Absolution, as the former Instances do, that they meant Confirmation, and both of them together plainly shew and evidence Confirmation and Absolution to be the very self-same thing; for since they promiscuously used and indifferently applyed these Terms, and that very thing, which in some Places they express by Confirmation, in others they call Absolution, it necessarily follows, that there can be no essential or specifical difference between them, but that they are of a like numerical Identity or Sameness. But,

Secondly, I now come in the next place to demonstrate, that together with the Bishop, and sometimes without the Bishop, Presbyters did absolve by imposition of Hands, That they did it, together with the Bishop, several places of *Cyprian* abundantly prove. *Offenders,*

1 Per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. *Epist.* 10. § 2. p. 30.

2 Nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi & ab Episcopo & Clero manus fuit imposita. *Ep.* 12. § 1. p. 37.

that sometimes they did it without the Bishop (always understanding his leave and permission) is apparent from the Example of Serapion, who being out of the Churches Peace, and ap-

3 Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοι πάλιν ἔλεγον — ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ὑπ' ἐμῆ βλάβῃ, ἄδεν ἀπαλλαγμένους τῷ βίῳ, εἰ δέοιτο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἔχουσιν ἐκείδουσι τὸν ὄψον, ἀφ' ὧν, ἐν δὲ ἐλπίδι ἀπαλλαγόμενοι. *Ex Epist. Alexand.* apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.

And as the Bishop of Alexandria gave his Presbyters this Power, so likewise did Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, who when he was in Ex-

4. Si premi infirmitate aliqua & periculo ceperint exomologesi facta, & manu eis a vobis in penitentiam imposita. *Epist.* 14. § 1. p. 41.

5 Si incommodo aliquo infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expecta-

saith He, 1. *Remits the right of Communion by the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop, and of his Clergy.* And, 2. *No Criminal can be admitted to Communion, unless the Bishop and Clergy have imposed Hands on him.* And

approaching the hour of Dissolution, 3. *sent for one of the Presbyters to Absolve him, which the Presbyter did, according to the Order of the Bishop, who had before given his Permission unto the Presbyters to absolve those who were in danger of Death.*

of Alexandria gave his Presbyters this Power, so likewise did Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, who when he was in Exile, order'd his Clergy 4. *to confess and absolve by Imposition of Hands, those who were in danger of Death.* And 5. *If any were in such Condition, they should not expect his Presence, but make themselves to the first Presbyter* they

they could find, who should receive their Confession, and absolve them by Imposition of Hands.

So that it is evident that Presbyters, even without the Bishop, did absolve Offenders, and formally receive them into the Churches Peace by Imposition of Hands.

Now then, if the Imposition of Hands on Persons just after Baptism, and the Imposition of Hands at the Restitution of Offenders was one and the self-same thing; and if Presbyters had Power and Authority to perform the latter, I see no reason why we should abridge them of the former; both the one and the other was Confirmation; and if Presbyters could confirm at one time, why should we doubt of their Right and Ability to perform it another time? If it was lawful for them to impose Hands on one occasion, it was as lawful for them to do it on another.

§ 9. From the precedent Observation of the Identity of that which we now distinguish by the Names of Confirmation and Absolution, it necessarily results, that Confirmation was not like Baptism, only once performed, but on many Persons frequently reiterated: All Persons after Baptism were confirmed, that is, by the Imposition of Hands and Prayer, the Holy Ghost was beseeched to descend upon them, and so to fortify them by his Heavenly Grace, as that they might courageously persevere in their Christian Warfare to their Lives

ta presentia nostra apud Presbyterum quemcunque presentem-- Exomologesi facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in poenitentiam imposita, veniant ad Dominum cum pace. Epist. 13. § 1. p. 39.

end; but if it should so happen, as oftentimes it did, that any so confirmed should fall from the Christian Faith, and be for a time excluded the Churches Peace, when they were again admitted, Hands were again imposed on them, and the Holy Spirit again Invoked, to strengthen them with his Almighty Grace, by which they might be upheld to the Day of Salvation; and so as often as any Man fell, and was restored to the Churches Communion, so often was he confirmed, and the Holy Ghost entreated more firmly to establish and settle him.

CHAP. VI.

§ 1. Of the Lord's Supper: The Time when administered. § 2. Persons that received it; none present at the Celebration thereof besides the Communicants. § 3. The manner of its Celebration; In some places the Communicants first made their Offerings. § 4. The Minister began with a Sacramental Discourse, or Exhortation: Then followed a Prayer, consisting of Petitions and Praises, which consecrated both the Elements at once. § 5. After that the Words of the Institution were read. § 6. Then the Bread was broken, and the Wine poured out, and both distributed: Diversity of Customs in the manner of the Distribution. § 7. The Posture of Receiving. § 8. After they had communicated they sung

sung a Psalm and then concluded with Prayer, and a Collection for the Poor.

S I. **T**HE first of the Christian Sacraments having been so largely discussed, I now come to treat of the other, *viz.* The Lords Supper; in the handling of which I shall enquire into these three things: 1. The Time. 2. The Person. And, 3. The manner thereof.

First, As for the time of its Celebration: In general, it was at the conclusion of their Solemn Services, as *Justin Martyr* writes, 1

1 Apolog. 2. pag. 97.

that after they had read,

sung, preached and prayed, then they proceeded to the Administration of the Eucharist. But as for the particular part of the Day, that seems to have been according to the Circumstances and Customs of every Church. In *Tertullian's* Age and Country they re-

ceived it 2 at Supper-

2 In tempore victus. De

time; from which late

Coron. Mōis. p. 337.

Assembling, it is probable, that the Heathens took occasion to accuse them of putting out the Lights, and promiscuously mingling one with another. Which Accusation may be read at large in *Justin Martyr's* Dialogue with *Tryphon*, in *Minutius Felix*, and the Apologies of *Tertullian* and *Athenagoras*. But whether this was then their constant Season in times of Peace, I know not; this is certain, that in Times of Persecution they laid hold on any Season or Opportunity for the enjoying of this Sacred Ordinance: whence *Tertullian* tells us

104 The Eucharist, Communicants &c.

1. Eucharistie Sacramentum etiam antelucanis coetibus. *De Corp. Mi.* p. 338.

And *Pliny* reports, that in his time the Christians were wont to meet together before it was light, and to bind themselves by a Sacrament.

2. Ante lucem convenire—seque Sacramento obstringere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

3 In matutinis Sacrificiis—cum ad coenandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus. *Epist. 63. § 12, p. 177.*

4 Christum offerre oportebat circa vespem dici, ut hora ipsa Sacrificii ostenderet occasum & vespem mundi—Nos autem resurrectionem Domini mane celebramus. *Ibidem.*

All that can be gathered from hence is, That they did not deem any particular part of the Day necessary to the Essence of the Sacrament, but every Church regulated its self herein according to the Diversity of its Customs and Circumstances.

§ 2. As for the Persons communicating, they were not indifferently all that professed the Christian Faith as

5 Οὐ παντ τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐστὶν τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ οὐ παντ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ. *Com. in Joan. Vol. 2 Tom. 28. p. 345.*

they were only such as were in the number of the

of their receiving the Eucharist in their Antient Assemblies, or, in their Assemblies before day.

Christians were wont to meet together before it was light, and to bind themselves by a Sacrament.

Cyprian writes that in his Days they administered this Sacrament both Morning and Evening. And, That as Christ administered the Sacrament in the Evening, to signify the Evening and end of the World. So they celebrated it in the Morning, to denote the Resurrection of their Lord and Master.

Origen writes, It doth not belong to every one to eat of this Bread, and to drink of this Cup. But

the, faithful 1 such as were baptized, and received both the Catechismals and Practicals of Christianity. That is, who believed the Articles of the Christian Faith, and lead an holy and a pious Life. Such as these, and none else, were permitted to Communicate.

Now since none but the Faithful were admitted, it follows that the Catechumens and the Penitents were excluded; the Catechumens because they were not yet baptized; for Baptism always preceded the Lords Supper, as Justin Martyr says. 2 It is not lawful for any one to partake of the Sacramental Food, except he be baptized. The Penitents, because for their Sins they were cast out of the Church, and whilst excluded from the Peace thereof, they could not participate of the Marks and Tokens of that Peace, but were to be driven therefrom, and not admitted thereto, 3 till they had fully satisfied for their Faults, lest otherwise they should profane the Body of the Lord, and drink his Cup unworthily, and so be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

1 Ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν καλεῖται περὶ ἡμῶν διχασθεῖς, ἢ εἰσὶν ἄλλοι μεταχθόνιοι ἔξω ἔξω, ἢ τῶ πνεύματος ἀληθῆ εἶναι το ἀληθῆ μίνα ὑπὸ ἡμῶν, καὶ λυσιτελεῖν τὸ ὑπερ ἀρίστους ἀμαρτανῶν. καὶ οἱ ἀναγίνονται λυσιτελεῖν, καὶ ὅπως βίβην, οἱ δὲ Χριστοὶ περιέδωκεν. Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

2 Ἡ εἰσὶν ἄλλοι μεταχθόνιοι ἔξω ἔξω ἢ — λυσιτελεῖν τὸ ὑπερ ἀρίστους ἀμαρτανῶν καὶ οἱ ἀναγίνονται λυσιτελεῖν. Apolog. 2. p. 97. 98.

3 Ante altam poenitentiam — offerre lapsis pacem, & Eucharistiam dare, id est, sanctum Domini corpus profanare audent, cum scriptum sit: Qui ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Christi. Cyprian. Epist. 17. § 11. p. 57.

Hence

to Baptize and Celebrate the Lord's Supper,

1 Sine Sacramento soli-
tae prædicationis. *Apud*
Cyp. Epist. 75. § 10. p.
238.

which last she did, with-
out the wanted Sermon, or
Discourse. Which seems
to intimate, that in those
days it was customary

in Lesser Asia, and perhaps at Carthage too,
for the Minister to make a Speech or Exhorta-
tion before the Participation of the Sacrament.
But whether this Practice was universal, or
more ancient than Firmilian, I cannot deter-
min; this that follows was, viz. A Prayer o-
ver the Elements by him that Officiated, unto
which the People gave their Assent, by saying
Amen. This Prayer is thus described by Justin

Martyr, 2. Bread and
Wine are offered to the
Minister, who receiving
them gives Praise and Glo-
ry to the Lord of all through
the Son, and the Holy
Ghost, and in a large
manner renders particular
Thanks for the present
Mercies; who when he hath
ended his Prayers and
Praise, all the People say
Amen. And 3. when the
Minister had thus given
Thanks, and the People
said *Amen*, the Deacons
distributed the Elements.

2 Προσφέσται τῷ ἑσ-
στῶν τὸν ἀλλοῦν ἄρτος,
καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ χε-
ματός, καὶ ἵπτος λαβὼν
αἶνον καὶ δοῦν τῷ πατρὶ
τῷ ἁλῶν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος
τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος
τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμψαι, καὶ ἐν-
χαρισίαν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν
ᾧ τὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ
πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ ἀντα-
πεῖν τοῖς χάρισι καὶ τῷ
ἐνχαρισίαν. καὶ ὁ παρὼν
λαὸς ὁμοφώνως λέγων
Ἀμήν. *Apolog. 2. p. 97.*

3 Ἐνχαριστοῦντες δὲ τῷ
ἑσστῶτι, καὶ ἐπιδόμην
δόντες τῷ λαῷ, δι-
ακονοῖ, &c. *Ibid.*

And

And again, *Bread and Wine* are offered to the *Minister*, who to the utmost of his Abilities sends up *Prayers and Praises*, and the *People* say *Amen*, and then the *Consecrated Elements* are distributed.

1. Ἄγνθ μεγαλειότης
καὶ δυνάμις καὶ ὁ πρε-
σβς εὐχαὶ δουλίας καὶ εὐ-
χαριστίας ὡς ὁ δυνάμις αὐ-
τῷ ἀναπύρει, καὶ ὁ λαός· καὶ
πρόσῃμι λέγον τὸ Ἀμήν·
καὶ ἡ διαδοὺς καὶ ἡ μεταλή-
ψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηδίων
τῶν ἑαῶν ὁ μυστήριον. Ibid. p.
98.

From this Description by *Justin Martyr* of the Sacramental Prayer, we may observe these few things pertinent to the matter in hand.

1. That there was but one long Prayer antecedent to the Distribution of the Elements: For he says, *That the Minister having received the Bread and Wine, he offered up Prayers and Praise unto God in a large manner; and when he had ended, the People said Amen.*

H. That this long Prayer consisted of two Parts, viz. *εὐχαὶ*, and *εὐχαριστίας*, as he calls them, that is, *Petition* and *Thanksgiving*; in the former they prayed for the Peace of the Church, the Quiet of the World, the Health of their Emperors, and in a Word, for all Men that needed their Prayers, as it is represented by *Tertullian*, *We pray*, saith he; *for the Emperors, for all that are in Authority under them, for the State of the World, for the Quiet of Affairs, and for the Delay of the Day of Judgment.* In the latter they gave God thanks for sending

2 Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu Sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. A. polog. cap. 39. p. 709.

Christ,

Christ, and for the Institution of that comfortable Sacrament, desiring his Blessing, and Consecration of the Elements then before them.

III: That by this one Prayer both the Elements were consecrated at once; for he says, *That the Minister took both Elements together, and blessed them, and then they were distributed.* He did not consecrate them distinctly, but both together.

§ 5. After Prayer was ended, they read the Words of Institution, that so the Elements might be consecrated by the Word, as well as by Prayer. Whence *Origen* calls the

1 Τὸ ἀναδύειν τὸ
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ
τῷ ἀναδύειν τὸ
ἀγαθὸν Θεοῦ καὶ
ἐν τῷ ἀναδύειν τὸ
Com. in Matth. Vol. 1. p.
454.

Sacramental Elements
1 *The Food that is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. And that is hallowed by the Word of God, and Prayer.* And *Irenaeus* writes, *1 Take when the Bread and Wine perceive the Word of God, then it becomes the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ.*

2 Quando mixtus calix
& fractus panis percipit
verbum Dei, fit Eucharis-
tia sanguinis & corporis
Christi. Lib. 4. cap. 4. p.
318.

§ 6. The Elements being thus Consecrated, the Minister took the Bread, and brake it;

3 Panis quem frange-
mus—fractus panis. Lib.
5. cap. 4. p. 318.

3 *The Bread which is
break; or, as the broken
Bread, as it is styled by
Irenaeus, and then gave*

it to the Deacons, who distributed it to the Communicants,

Communicants, and after that the Cup, which the Deacons in the like manner delivered. So it was in *Justin Martyr's* time and Country,

1 *The Element*, saith he, being blessed, the Deacons give to every one present of the Consecrated Bread and Wine. But in *Ter- tullan's* Time and Coun- try the Minister, and not the Deacons, distributed the Elements,

2 *We receive* saith he, from no ones Hands but the Bishops. And yet at the same Place not ma- ny years after, 3 *The Deacons offered the Cup to those that were pre- sent*. So that herein there was a Diversity of Cu-

stoms; in some places the Deacons delivered the Elements, in others the Bishop, or the Minister that consecrated them. But whe- ther it was done either by Bishop or Deacons, it seems probable, that which of them soe- ver did it, they delivered the Sacramental Bread and Wine particularly to each Com- municant. I find but one Example to the con- trary, and that was in the Church of *Alexan- dria*, where the Custom was to permit the People to take the Bread themselves from the Plate, or Vessel wherein it was consecrated,

Εὐχαριστοῦντες ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος — διδο-
ντες διδασκίαν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν πα-
ρόντων, μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ
τοῦ εὐχαριστήσαντος ὡς ἔστι
ἐν οἷς. *Apolo.* 2. p. 97.

2 Necde aliorum ma-
hu, quam præsidentium
sumimus. *De Coron. Milit.*
p. 338.

3 Calicem Diaconus of-
ferre præsentibus coepit.
Cyprian. de Laris, § 20. p.
283.

as
as
as
as
as

1 *Τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πρὸς διακόνους, ὡς ἔστιν, ἀντὶν δι' ἑαυτὸν τὴν λαὸν λαβὼν τὴν μυστήριον ὁμολογίαν.* Stromat. lib. 1. p. 198.

as is intimated by: *Chemens Alexandrinus*; but in most other Churches it is likely that the Elements were particularly delivered to every

single Communicant: So it was in the Coun-

2 *Ἡ δὲ δόσις ἡ ἡμετέριαν ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστιῶν, ἡ δὲ φ. γίνεται.* A. pol. 2. p. 98.

try of *Justin Martyr*, where the Deacons gave to each one of the consecrated Bread and Wine.

3 *Calicem Diaconus of ferre presentibus cœpit.* Cyprian. de Lapsis, § 20. p. 283.

So at Carthage in the time of *Cyprian*, 3 The Deacons offered the Cup to those that were present.

In the time of which Father it was usual for Children and Sucking Infants to receive the Sacrament, unto whom it was necessary particularly to deliver the Elements, since it was impossible for them to take it orderly from the Hands of others: And therefore when a little sucking Girl refused to taste the Sacramental

4 *Diaconus — reluctant licet de Sacramento calicis infudit.* Ibid. p. 284. at Rome as appears

Wine, 4 The Deacon violently forc'd it down her Throat. So it was also from what *Cornelius* reports of his Antagonist

5 *Ποιῶντος γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ διακόνων ἑκάστῳ τὸ μίση, καὶ ὁμοδιδόντες τὸν, ὁμολογῶν ἀντὶ τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς παλαιστίνης ἀνδρώπυς ἀναγκάζει, καὶ ἔχον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν τὰς τῶν λαβόντων, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ*

Novatian, that, when he administer'd the Sacrament, and divided and gave to each Man his part; with his two Hands he held those of the Receiver, saying *tahim, Sworn unto me by the Body and Blood*

112
 The bread and wine being consecrated, the Communicants came up in order to the Communion Table, and there standing received the Elements, and then returned to their places again. But whether this was universal I know not, nor whether any other postures were used. I cannot determine, only as for kneeling, if the Sacrament was Celebrated on the Lords Day, as usually it was, or on any other Day between Easter and Whitsontide, then no Church whatsoever kneeled, for as Tertullian writes, 3 On the Lords Day we account it a Sin to worship kneeling, which custom we also observe from Easter to Whitsontide.

2. Τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς ἐκείναις.
 Ex Epist. Dionysii Alexand.
 apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 23.

P. 245.
 3. Die Dominico ———
 nefas ducimus ——— de
 geniculis adorare, eadem
 immunitate die Pasche in
 Pentecosten usque gaude-
 mus. De Coron. Milit. p.
 149.

CHAP. VII.

- S** 1. Of the Circumstances of Publick Worship.
 § 2. Of the Place thereof: In Times of Peace
 fixed Places for that end, metonymically called
 Churches. § 3. How those Churches were built.
 § 4. No Holiness in those Places. § 5. Of the
 Time of Publick Worship. § 6. The First Day
 of the Week an usual Time. § 7. Celebrated
 with Joyfulness, esteemed holy, and spent in an
 holy manner. § 8. Their Reasons for the Ob-
 servation of this Day. § 9. The usual Title of
 this Day, The Lord's Day. § 10. Sometimes
 called Sunday, but never the Sabbath-Day.
 § 11. Saturday another Time of Publick Wor-
 ship.

S 1. **H**itherto I have spoken of the seve-
 ral particular Acts of the Publick
 Worship of the Ancients: I now come, ac-
 cording to my propounded Order, to enquire
 into the necessary Circumstances thereof. By
 which I mean such things as are inseparable
 from all humane Actions, as Place and Time,
 Habit, and Gesture. As for Habit, as much
 of that as is Controverted, I have spoken
 to already in that Chapter, where I dis-
 coursed of the Ministers Habit in Prayer.
 And as for Gesture, I have already treated
 of Worshipping towards the East. And of
 their Posture at the Reception of the Lord's
 Supper.

116. The Supper, Communion, &c.

Supper. There is nothing more disputed with reference thereunto, besides the bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the worshipping towards the Communion Table; but both these being introduced after my prescribed time, viz. above three hundred years after Christ, I shall say nothing to them, but pass on to the Discussing of the two remaining Circumstances of Publick Worship, viz. *Place and Time*.

§ 2. First. As for Place: This all will readily grant to be a necessary Circumstance of Divine Worship; for if we serve God, it is impossible, but that it must be in one place or other. Now one Query with respect hereunto may be, Whether the Primitive Christians had determined fixed Places for their Publick Worship? Unto which I answer, That usually they had; though it is true indeed, that in times of Persecution, or when their Circumstances would not permit them to have one usual fixed Place, they met where-ever

they could: in Fields, Deserts, Ships or Inns: Yet in times of Peace and Serenity they chose the most settled convenient Place that they

could get, for the Performance of their Solemn Services; which place, by a Metonymy, they called the Church. Thus at Rome the place where the Christians met, and chose Fabian for their Bishop, was the Church. At Antioch Paulus Samosatenus Bishop thereof, ordered certain Women

terrying. Pishus to his
Rgase. in the midst of
the Church. At Carthage
the Baptized Persons renounced the Devil
and all his Works. in
the Church And thus
Tertullian very frequent-
ly calls their desuite
places for Divine Wor-
ship Churches.

§ 3. As for the Form
or the Fashion of their
Description of them in
Tertullian, The House of
our Dove like Religion is
simple, built on high and
in open View, respecting
the Light as the Figure
of the Holy Spirit and the
East as the representation
of Christ.

The meaning whereof is, that their
Churches were erected on high and open pla-
ces, and made very light and shining, in imita-
tion of the Holy Ghost's Descent upon the
Apostles at the Day of Pentecost; who came
down with Fire, or Light upon them, and
that they were built towards the East, in re-
semblance of Christ, whom they apprehend-
ed in Scripture to be called the East, con-
cerning which Title, and the reason thereof,
I have already discoursed In that Headcon-
cerning praying towards the East, unto which
place, to avoid repetition, I refer the Reader.

§ 4. But tho' they had these fixed Places or
Churches for Congenieny and Decency, yet

1 In Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.
2 In Ecclesia. Tertul.
de Coxon, Milit. R. 286.
3 In Lib. de Virgin. Ve-
land.

of these Churches,
Building, I find this
4 Notre columbe do-
mus simplex, etiam in adi-
tis semper & apertis et ad
judem, amat figuram Spi-
ritus sancti. Orientem
Christi figuram. Alders.
Psalterium. p. 284.

not attributing unto them any such Holiness,
as thereby to sanctify those Services that
were performed in them.

But know nothing more with respect to Place,
that requires our Consideration: I shall there-
fore now proceed to enquire into the Time
of Patrick's Ministry, under which will be
comprehended the Primitive Rites and
Rituals.

Time is as necessary a Circumstance
to Religious Worship as Place; for whilst
we are in this World, we cannot serve
God at all times, but must have some
determinate time to serve him in: That
God's People therefore under the Law
might not be left at an uncertainty when
to serve him, it pleased the Almighty to in-
stitute the Sabbath, the Passover, and other
Festivals, at which times they were to con-
gregate and assemble together, to give unto
God the Glory due unto his Name. And for
the same end under the Evangelical Admini-
stration there are particular Days and Seasons
appointed for the Publick and Solemn Wor-
ship of the Glorious and Eternal Lord, ac-
cording to the Sayings of *Clement Romanus*, God
hath required us to
serve him. *In the Ep-
istles of the Apostles.*
For which Reason we
ought to serve him, &c.
That is, in worshipping
him

1 *Responsum* *respon-*
sur. Epist. 1. ad Co-
rinth. p. 52.
2 *Kant. 1. 1. 1. 1.*
apoc. Ibid.

...him as the (Gentle)
...and Saviour, we may be
blessed and accepted by him.

56. Now, the principal and chief of these prohibited times was the first Day of the Week, on which they constantly met together to perform their Religious Services. So writes *Barth. Martin*.

On the Day that is called Sunday, all both of the Country and City assemble together, where we preach and pray, and discharge all the other usual

Upon which account those parts of God's Publick Worship are styled

3. *Dominica Solennia.* by *Tertullian*, *The Lord's*
De Anima, c. 3, p. 530.

Days Solemnities. An-
nelius, who was ordained a Lector, or a Clark,
by Cyrian, is described in the Execution of

his Office, & by reading
on the Lord's Day. And
Victorinus Petavionensis

re. This Dominico cum
gratias actione ad p
De Fabric
Mundi apud D. Cave, p.

served by the Heathen
in *Minucius Felix*, who
mentions the Christi-

ans 6 assembling to eat on a Solemn Day. And Pliny reports, that the

Christians in his time met together on an appointed day to sing Psalms unto Christ, as a God, and to bind themselves by a Sacrament.

5. This was the Day which *Clavens Alexander* calls the Chief of Days, our Rites indeed, which they observed as the highest and supremest Festival. On Sunday we give our selves to Joy, both Textilian. And before him St. Barnabas, & the whole English Day with Gladness. And Ignatius We observe the Lord's Day, banishing every thing on this day that had the least tendency to, or the least appearance of Sorrow and Grief; inasmuch that now they fasted, as we see either to fast or kneel: Even the Montanists themselves, those rigid Observers of Fasts and Abstinences, abstained from Fasting on this most glad and joying day.

Effens solis nato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem, seque Sacramento obstringere. Epist. ad Tidian.

Stromat. lib. 5. p. 492.

Deum solis latitiam indulgemus. Apolog. cap. 16. p. 688.

Apolog. cap. 16. p. 688. Epist. Cathol. 5. p. 244.

Kata katechismos (kata katechismos). Ad Magnes. p. 35.

to, or the least appearance of Sorrow and Grief; inasmuch that

6. Die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adosare. Tertul. de Cor. Mil. p. 339. 340.

7. Quantula est enim apud nos interdictio ciborum duas in anno Hebdomadas Xerophagiarum nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis & Dominicis offerimus Deo. Tertullian de Spectaculo, p. 64.

This

glorious Resurrection of their Redeemer, that happened thereon. So

writes St. Barnabas, 1 We keep the eighth day with gladness, on which Christ arose from the Dead. So says Ignatius, 2 Let us keep the Lord's Day, on which our Life arose through him:

And so says Clemens Alexandrinus, 3 He that truly observes the Lord's Day, glorifies therein the Resurrection of the Lord. Justin Martyr relates that 4 On Sunday the Christians assembled together, because it was the first Day of the Week, on which God out of the confused Chaos made the World, and Jesus Christ our Saviour arose from the Dead; for on Fry-day he was Crucified, and on Sunday he appeared to his Apostles and Disciples, and taught them those things that the Christians now believe. And to the

same purpose Origen adviseth his Auditors to pray unto Almighty God, 5 especially on the Lord's Day, which is a

1 Ἀπομνηστεύομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην αἰς εὐφροσύνης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν. Epist. Catholic. § 11. p. 244.

2 Κατὰ κυριακὴν ἡμερὰν ἡμεῖς οἱ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 34.

3 Κωνσταντῖνος ἐκράτει τὴν ἡμέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἀναστάντι δοξαζόν. Stomat. lib. 7. p. 435.

4 Τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν κωνσταντῖνος τὴν συνήθειαν ποιούμενος, ὁποῖον πρώτην ἦν ἡμερὰ, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σὸντονον καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμῶν σωτὴρ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὴν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἐκείνου τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ἡμεῖς οἱ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. Apolog. 2. p. 99.

5 Maxime in Dominica die, quæ passionis Christi Commemorationem

Si Commemoratrix est ;
neque enim resurrectio
Domini fecit in Anna, &
non semper post septem
dies celebratur. In Isai-
am, Romil. 5.

Commemoratrix of Christ's
Passion ; for the Resur-
rection of Christ is not on-
ly celebrated once a year,
but every seven days.

§ 9. From hence
Appellation of this
and Latin Churches,
it is styled by Clemens

it was, that the usual
Day both by the Greek
was The Lords Day. So

1. Irenæus, lib. 5. p. 439. &
lib. 7. p. 535.

2. De Fidei Myro. apud
Dr. Cave, Hist. literar. p.
103.

3. Dies dominicus, Apud
Cyprian. Ep. 53. § 3. p.
164.

4. Dominicum diem. De
Idolat. p. 623.

the Lords, without the

5. Magnesi. p. 39.

6. Epist. 33. p. 77.

Alexandrinus, the Lords Day.

And amongst the La-
tins, by Victorinus Peta-
monensis, Dies Domini-
cus, the Lords Day.

As also by an African
Synod, And by 4. Tetulli-
an.

Sometimes it is
simply called *dominus* and

and, *Dominicus*, that is,

the Word
Day, as it is thus called

by 5. Ignatius.
And Dominicus by 6. Cy-
prian.

§ 10. So that the Lords Day was the com-
mon and ordinary Title of this blessed and
glorious Day, though sometimes in compli-
ance with the Heathens, that they might know
what Day they meant thereby, they called it
in their Phrase, Sunday, so termed because
Dedicated to the Sun.

Thus Justin Martyr informing the Heathens
of the Time and Manner of the Christians
Assemblies

ἡ τῶν ἁλῶν ἀσπασίαν
 πατέρα πατέρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα
 ἡ ἀγάπης μετὰ τὸν δὲ τὸ
 αὐτὸ σωτὴρ ἀνθρώπων —
 τίς δὲ τὸ ἅλιν ἡμῶν.
 Apolog. 2. p. 98, & 99.

lets the Heathens
2. Diem Spis iustitiae
dulgemus. Apologia. 16. p.
683.

But though they so far complied with the Heathens as to call *this Sunday*, yet I do not find that they ever so far indulged the Jews as to call it the *Sabbath Day*; for through all their Writings, as may be especially seen in *Tertullian*, and *Justin Martyr*, they violently de-claim against Sabbatizing, or keeping the Sabbath Day, that is, the Judaical Observation of the Seventh Day, which we must always understand by the Word *Sabbatum* in the Writings of the Ancients, not the Observation of the first Day, or the Lords Day; for that was constantly celebrated, as it has been already proved, and by those who condemn the Observance of the Sabbath Day, the Sanctification of the Lords Day is approved and recommended, as by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* in those Passages already cited, unto which we may add that clear Passage

¹ Μὴν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι
ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου (αὐτοῦ)
(ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἰ. ἡ ἡ) (αὐτοῦ)
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ
Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.

² Καὶ τὸ σάββατον
ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι
ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου τὸ
ἀνάστασιν, τὸ ἵκταν
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάστασιν ἐκ
τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνάστασιν
ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμεῖς ἵκταν
ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου. Epist. interpol.
ad Magnes. p. 149.

Passage of Ignatius. Let
us no longer Sabbathize,
but keep the Lords Day,
on which our Life rose.
Or as it is more fully
expressed in his inter-
polated Epistle, In-
stead of Sabbathizing, let
every Christian keep the
Lords Day, the Day on
which Christ rose again;
the Queen of Days, on
which our Life arose, and
Death was conquered by
Christ.

§ 11. So that their not Sabbathizing did
not exclude their keeping of the Lords Day;
nor the Christian, But only the Judaical
Observance of the Sabbath, or Seventh Day;
for the Eastern Churches, in compliance
with the Jewish Converts, who were nu-
merous in those Parts, performed on the
Seventh Day the same public Religious
Services, that they did on the First Day,
observing both the one and the other as a
Festival. Whence Ori-

³ Hieronymus. Cont. J. gen enumerates 3 Satur-
day as one of the four
Feasts solemnized in his time; though on the
contrary, some of the Western Churches, that
they might not seem to Judaize, fasted on Sa-

turday,
§ 11.

C-H-A-P. VIII.

§ Of the Primitive Fasts, two-fold: Occasional and Fix'd, Of Occasional Fasts, what they were, and by whom appointed. § 2. Of fix'd Fasts, two-fold, Weekly and Annual: Week-days and Fridays, weekly Fasts; till what time of the Day observ'd, and why observ'd. § 3. One necessary Annual Fast; viz. Lent. Why they fasted at Lent, and how long, lasted. § 4. Of the manner of their Fasts, Three sorts of Fasts, viz. Station, Jejunium, and Superpositio. What those several Kinds were, and at what times observ'd.

§ 1. **I**N this Chapter I shall make an Enquiry into the Primitive Fasts, which may be considered in a two-fold respect, either as Occasional, or Fix'd.

Occasional Fasts were such, as were not determined by any constant fixed Period of Time, but observ'd on extraordinary and unusual Seasons, according as the Variety and Necessity of their Circumstances did require them. Thus in Times of Great and Imminent Danger either of Church or State, when by their Sins they had kindled God's Wrath and Fury against them, that they might divert his Vengeance, and appease his offended Majesty, they appointed set Days and Times for the Abasing of themselves before

before the Lord, for the seeking of his Face by Prayer and Fasting, abstaining from the Food of their Bodies, and performing all external Acts of Humiliation, as to many Indications of the internal Contrition of their Hearts and Souls. So *Cyprian* in the time of

a sharp Persecution advised his Flock 1 To

seek to appease and pacify the Lord, not only by Prayers, but by Fasting, and by Tears, and by all kind of Intercessions. And

when the same Father forsook an approaching

Persecution, he writ to Cornelius Bishop of Rome, 2 That since God

was pleased in his Providence to warn them of an approaching Fight and

Trial, they ought with their whole Flocks diligently to fast and watch,

and pray, to give themselves to continual Groans, and frequent Prayers;

for those are our Spiritual Arms, that make us firmly to stand and persevere.

Terullian jeers the Heathens, 3 That in times of Danger or great necessity, after they had

1 Ad placandum atque exorandum Dominum, non voce sola, sed & jejuniis, & lacrymis, & omni genere deprecationis ingemiscant. *Epist. 8. § 1. p. 22.*

2 Quoniam providentia Domini monentis instrimur — appropinquate jam certaminis & agonis nostri diem, jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus insistere, cum omni plebe non desinamus, incumbamus gemitibus assiduis & deprecationibus crebris, hæc sunt enim nobis arma cœlestia; quæ stare & perseverare fortiter faciunt. *Epist. 57. § 3. p. 159.*

3 Denique cum ab imbribus æstiva, hyberna suspendunt, & annus in cura est, vos quidem quotidie pasti, statimque voluptuosius

præfuri, bairnls & cau-
poris & laganaribus ope-
rati, Aquilæ, Jovi immo-
latis, Nudipedalia populo
denunciatis Cælum apud
Capitolium quæritis, nu-
bila de læscantibus ex-
pectatis, averſi ab ipſo
& Deo & Cælo. Nos, ve-
ro jejuniis aridi, & om-
ni continentia aſperſi ab
omni vitæ fruge dilati,
in ſacco & cinere volu-
tantes, invidia Cælum
tundimus, Deum tangi-
mus, & cum miſericordi-
am extorſerimus, Jupiter
honoratur. *ſuppl. cap.*
40. p. 711.

voluptuouſly and ſerſuallly
glutted themſelves, they
there ran to the Capitol,
and with all outward
ſigns of Humility, depre-
cated Gods Judgements,
and implored his mercy,
whilſt in the mean time
they were Enemies unto
him. But ſays he, We
on ſuch Emergencies and
Occaſions abſtain from all
things, give our ſelves
wholly to faſting, roll our
ſelves in ſackcloth and A-
ſhes, thus incline God as

it were to repent, to have Mercy and Compaſſion
upon us; for by this way God is honoured.

These Occaſional Faſts were appointed by
the Biſhops of every Church, as they ſaw fit
and neceſſary. So writes

1. Epilcopi univerſæ
Plebi mandare jejunia af-
ſolent — ex aliqua ſoli-
tudinis eccleſiaſtica cau-
ſa. *De Jejun. c. 13.*

Tertullian, 1 The Biſhops
are wont to ordain Faſts
for their Churches, ac-
cording as the Circum-
ſtances of the Churches
require.

§ 2. The next ſort of Faſts were ſet or fix-
ed ones, that is, ſuch as were always obſerved
at the ſame Time and Seafon; and theſe again
were two fold, either Weekly or Annual.
Firſt, Weekly. Theſe were kept every Wed-
neſday and Friday, as Clemens Alexandrinus re-
lates

It is true, they fasted *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*, but this was *ex Arbitrio*, of their own Free Will and Choice, not *ex imperio*, of Command or Necessity. For when the *Montanists*, began to impose as a Duty other *Fixed Fasts*, they were for so doing branded as *Heticks*, & *Whos*, saith *Apollonius* concerning *Montanus*, is this new Doctor? His Works and Doctrin evidently declare him; this is he that teaches the Dissolution of

1 Τις δὲν ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ
ὡραῖον διδισκῶν; καὶ
ὅσα αὐτῷ, ἢ διδασκῶν
διδάσκον, ἐστὶν δὲν ὁ δι-
δάσκων ἄλλως γὰρ, ὅτι
ἐκείνους ποιεῖται. Apud
Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. p.
184.

Fasts. And for the same Practice they were accused by the Orthodox, for a *Galatians*, or committing the Error of the Galatians in observing Days, and Months, and Years.

But that the Ancients esteemed Lent to be the only necessary fixed Fast, and any other, even the Stationary Days to be indifferent, will appear most evidently from this ensuing Passage of *Tertullian*, *Tertullian* being now a *Montanist*, and defending their prescribed Fasts against the Orthodox, thus jeeringly exposes the Opinions of his Adversaries with respect to the necessary determined times of

2 Certe in evangelio
illos dies jejunis determi-
natos putant, in quibus
ablatus est sponsus; & hos

Fasting. 3 Forsyth, saith
he, they think that accord-
ing to the Gospel, those
days are to be prescribed
Fasts,

Fasts, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away, (i.e. Lent) and those to be the only Fasts of Christians, the Legal and Prophetic Fasts being abolished, and that for others we may indifferent-ly fast, according to our Will, not out of necessity or command, but according to our Circumstances and conditions, and that so the Apostles observed, commanding no other fixed and common Fasts besides this; no, not the Stationary Days, which indeed they keep on Wednesdays and Fridays, and do all observe, but yet not in obedience to any Command, or to the end of the Day, but Prayers are concluded at three a Clock in the Afternoon, according to the Example of Peter in the Acts.

esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum Christianorum abolitis legalibus; & prophetis vetustatibus, itaque de cetero indifferenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ pro temporibus & causis uniuscujusque: Sic & Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum & in commune omnibus observandorum jejuniorum: præterea nec stationum, quæ & ipsæ suæ quidem dies habeant quartæ feriæ & sextæ, passim tamen currunt, neque sub lege præcepti neque ultra supremam diei, quando & orationes fere hora nona concludat de Petri exemplo quod actis refertur, De Jejunio, p. 643.

So that from hence it is evident, That the Orthodox apprehended themselves to be free from the necessary Observation of the Stationary Fasts, and to be only strictly obliged to fast on those Days, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away, or on Lent, from which Periphra-

sis of *Lent* we may collect both the Reason and the Duration thereof.

First, the Reason thereof, or the Ground on which they founded the necessity of this Fast, and that was on that saying of Christ, in *Matth. 9. 15.* *The Days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them.* This they imagined to be an Injunction of Christ to all his Followers, to fast at that time, when the Bridegroom should be taken away. The Bridegroom they esteemed to be Christ, the time when he was taken away, his Crucifixion, Death and continuing under the Power of Death to the instant of his Resurrection, during which time they thought themselves by the forementioned Command obliged to fast.

Secondly, From hence we may observe the Duration of this Fast, or how long it was continued, and that was, from the time that Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, to the time that he was restored again, that is, from his Passion to his Resurrection. Now according to their Various Computations of the beginning and end of Christ's being taken away, so was the Duration of their Fast; some might reckon from Christ's Agony in the Garden, others from his being betrayed by *Judas*. Some again from his being fastened to the Cross; and others from his being actually dead; and so according to these Diversities of Computations were their Fasts either lengthened or

or shortned. This we may probably suppose to be the occasion of the different Observations of this Fast with respect to its Duration, as we find it in *Irenæus*,
Some, says he, esteem, that they must fast but one Day, others two, others more, and some allow to this Fast forty Hours. Which last space of Time seems to have been their general and

1 'Οι μὲν γὰρ διὐναι
 μὲν ἡμέρας δύο ἀσθε-
 νουμένων. οἱ δὲ δύο οἱ δὲ
 καὶ πλείονας, καὶ δὲ ποσά-
 ἐκδορῇ. ἄλλοις ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν
 ἡμέραν καὶ ὡρὰς τε
 τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν. A-
 pud Euseb. lib 5. cap. 24.
 p. 393.

common Allowance: Whence this Fast was afterwards called *quadagesima*, that is, not a Fast of Forty Days, in imitation of Christ's Fasting in the Wilderness, but a Fast of Forty Hours, beginning at Friday Twelve a Clock, about which time Christ was dying, and ending Sunday Morning, when Christ arose. So that from Twelve a Clock Good-Friday, as we call it, when Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, they fasted, in obedience to his Command, as they imagined, till Sunday Morning, when he was found again by his Resurrection, at which time they forgot their Sorrow and Mourning, concluded their Fast, and began the joyful Festival of Easter, or of Christ's Resurrection,

As for the manner of their Fasts, we may observe them to be of three sorts, viz. *Statio*, *Jejunium*, and *Superpositio*; *Station*, *Fasts*, and *Superpositio*; all which three are at once mentioned

1. Usque ad horam nocturnam jejunamus, usque ad vesperam, aut superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat. *De Fabric. Mun. apud D. Cave, p. 103.*

mentioned by *Victorinus Petavionensis*. 1. We fast, says he, till the ninth hour; or till evening, or there is a Superposition till the next morning.

I. There was the Fast of Stations, which ended at Three a Clock in the Afternoon, or at the Ninth Hour, as it is called in the fore-cited Passage of *Victorinus Petavionensis*. This sort of Fasting was used on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, which Days, as we have shewn before were called Stationary Days, and on them Divine Services were ended at There a Clock in the Afternoon, for which Reason *Mar-*

2. Stationum semijejunia. *De Jejun. v. 660.*

nising *Tertulian* 2 terms them, *The Half Fasts of Stations*.

II. The next sort was strictly called *Jejunium*, or a Fast; which according to the fore-cited place of *Victorinus Petavionensis*, lasted till Evening: Of this sort, it is probable, their Occasional Fasts were, as *Tertulian*

3. Denique cum a tribus, & iva, &c. Nos jejunis aridi, & omni continentia aspersi. Invidia celum tundimus. *Apolo. cap. 40. p. 711.*

writes, 3. In times of necessity and danger we lay up our selves with fasting, abstain from all Meats, roll our selves in Dust and Ashes, and by these means cause God to have mercy upon us.

Though it is also likely, that in times of more imminent Danger they extended these Fasts unto that of *Superposition*. The

The Second sort of Fasts was observed by some on *Fridays*, who turned the Station into a Fast, as *Victorinus Petavionensis* writes, 1 On Friday, in Commemoration of the Lord's Passion, I either keep a Station, or observe a Fast.

1 Ob. Stationem Domini Jesu Christi aut Stationem do, aut Jejunium facimus. *De Fabric. Mund. apud D. Cave, p. 103.*

III. The last sort of Fasts was called *Superpositio*, or, as by the Greeks, *Superpositio*, which lasted till the Morning of the next Day according to that of *Victorinus Petavionensis*, 2 Let *Superpositio* be done till the next Day.

2 Superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat. *D. Fabric. Mund. apud D. Cave, p. 103.*

As for the times when this Fast was observed, I find that in some of the Western Churches they so kept every *Saturday* throughout the Year, fasting thereon till Midnight, or till the beginning of *Sunday Morning*, as *Victorinus Petavionensis*

says, 3 Let *Superpositio* be done on *Saturday*, lest we should seem to observe the Jewish Sabbath. But not only in these, but

3 Parasceve superpositio fiat, ne quod cum Judæis Sabbatum observare videamur. *Ibid. p. 103.*

in other Churches also, they so fasted on *Easter Eve*, or on the *Saturday* preceeding that *Sunday*, which being *Lent*, was so necessary and usual, that *Tertullian* enumerating those particular Acts of Divine Worship, that a Christian

Christian Woman could not freely perform, if married to a Pagan Husband, reckons this

Quis Solemnibus Pas-
che abundantem securus
suffinebit. *Ad. Univ. lib.*
2: p. 429

as one; *That on Easter
Eve she could not stay up,
and watch that Night:*
But to please her Hus-
band, must be diverted

from this necessary Fast, that usher'd in the
Glorious Festival of *Easter*, which brings me
in the next place to enquire into this, and
their other Feasts, of which in the ensuing
Chapter:

CHAPTER I
OF THE FEASTS OF THE CHURCH
AND THE REASONS OF THEM

THE first of these is the Feast of
Easter, which is celebrated on the
first Sunday after the full moon
which follows the vernal equinox.

THE second is the Feast of
Whit Sunday, which is celebrated
on the seventh Sunday after
Easter.

THE third is the Feast of
Trinity Sunday, which is celebrated
on the Sunday after Whit Sunday.
THE fourth is the Feast of
St. John the Baptist, which is
celebrated on the feast day of
St. John the Baptist, viz. June 24th.
THE fifth is the Feast of
St. Peter and St. Paul, which is
celebrated on the feast day of
St. Peter and St. Paul, viz. June 29th.
THE sixth is the Feast of
St. James, which is celebrated
on the feast day of St. James,
viz. July 25th.

CHAP. IX.

§ 1. Of the Primitive Feasts, two-fold, Occasional, and Fixed. § 2. Of Easter. § 3. Of Whitsunday. § 4. Of Christmas: On what Day of the Year Christ was born. § 5. Of Epiphany. § 6. Besides these no other Feasts in Commemoration of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or the Apostles. The Apostles not called Saints in the Primitive Writings. § 7. Festivals in Commemoration of the Martyrs: Observed on the Annual Day of their Martyrdom. Persons appointed to take on exact Account of the Day of their Decease. § 8. Why those Festivals were observed. The Day of the Martyrs Death termed their Birth days. § 9. The Place where these Festivals were Solemnized: Of the Buryingplace of the Ancients. § 10. The manner of the Observation of these Festivals.

§ 1. **A**S the Primitive Fasts were two-fold, so likewise were their Feasts, either Occasional, or Fixed. As for those that were Occasional, I shall pass them over, because not controverted, and come immediately to enquire into their Fixed Feasts, which, as their Fasts, were also two-fold, either Weekly or Annual. Of their Weekly Feasts, which were Sundays, and in the Oriental Churches Saturdays, I have already discoursed, so that there only remains an Enquiry into their Annual

Annual Feasts, which, besides the Martyrs Festivals, were two, viz, *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, or at most Three, viz, *Easter*, *Whitsunday*, and *Christmas*, of each of which in their Order.

§ 1. I begin with *Easter*, as being the antientest Feast of all, concerning which *Tertul-*

Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo. De Festis. p. 651.

a Solennia Pascha, E. pist. 53. § 2. p. 131.

3 T. n. d. a. Contra Celsum, lib. 8. p. 392.

lian writes, 1 We Celebrate Easter in the first Month every Year. Cyprian mentions their 2

Easter Solemnities. And Origen reckons 3 Easter as one of the four Festivals observed in his

time. But that they Solemnized *Easter*, is a thing so well known, that it will be unnecessary to prove it, especially since every one knows, or at least might easily know, those sharp Contests and Debates that were in the Church about the time when it should be kept; the whole Affair hath been at large related by several Hands in our own Tongue; amongst others, by the most learned Dr. *Casse*, in his *Apostolici*, in the Life of *Irenaeus*, to which I refer the Curious, contenting my self with giving a very brief Account of the Controversie, which was this: The Churches of the *Lesser Asia* kept their *Easter*, the same day that the Jews kept their Passover, on what day of the Week soever it happen'd. The Church of *Rome*, with other Churches, kept it the Lords Day after. This Diversity of Customs created

created a violent Disorder and Confusion amongst the Christians; for the Church of Rome would impose their Usages on the Churches of the Lesser Asia, unto which the latter peremptorily refused to submit. To appease these Heats and Storms, Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna came to Rome to confer with Anicetus Bishop of that Church about it, who agreed, that every Church should be left to follow its own Custom, as accordingly they were to the times of Pope Victor, who revived this Controversie, and was so turbulent and imperious, as that he excommunicated the Asiatics, for refusing to comply with the Church of Rome in this matter, condemning them as Hereticks, leading them with the long and frightful Name of *Tessareskaidékaiſta*, or, *Quardeciman*, so called because they kept their Easter *Quarta Decima Luna*, upon the Fourteenth Day after the appearance of the Moon, or at the Full Moon, on what Day soever it happened. But however the Asiatics stood their Ground, and still maintained their old Custom, till the Council of Nice, Anno 325. by their Authority decided this Controversie, decreeing, that throughout the whole Christian World, Easter should be observed not on the Day on which the Jewish Passover fell, but on the Lord's Day ensuing, as it was ever after observed and followed.

§ 3. The next Feast that was observed was *Whitsunday*, or *Pentecost* in Commemoration of the Holy Ghosts Descent on the Apostles, which

which also was very ancient, being mentioned several times by ^{Ter-} ~~tullian~~ ^{and reckon'd by} ~~Origen~~ ^{for one of the} ~~2~~ ^{few} ~~Festivals~~ ^{observed} ~~in his time, the other~~ ^{Three being} ~~Sundays,~~ ^{Sundays,} ~~Saturdays and Easter.~~

1 De Coron. Milit. p. 340. De Baptism. p. 604.
2 De Idololatria. p. 623.

3 Τα ἑστὶ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖται, ἡ ποιεῖται ἡμερῶν, ἡ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ τὴν ἡμέραν. Contra Celsum. lib. 2. p. 392.

§. 4. As for Christmas, or the time of Christ's Nativity, there is a Passage in *Clement Alexandrinus*, which seems to intimate, that it was then observed as a Festival. For speaking of the Time when Christ was born, he says, that those who had curiously search'd into it, affixed it to the 25th Day of the Month *Parthen*. But the *Basilidians* held otherwise,

3 who also observed as a Feast, the Day of Christ's Baptism. From which Words who also, if that be the meaning of the Words ὁ—ς one might be apt to infer, that the meaning of *Clement Alexandrinus* was, that the *Basilidians* not only feasted at the time of Christ's Nativity, but also at the time of his Baptism. But whether this Interpretation will hold, I leave to the Learned Reader to determin. On the contrary, there are other Considerations, which more strongly insinuate, that this Festival was not so early solemnized, as that when *Origen* reckons up the Feasts

1 κρηνακῶν — πάρος
κδων — πλγα — πνπ-
κς ης. Contra Celsum. lib
8. p. 392.

2 Γίνονται ἐν ἀφ' ἑ
Κύριε. Ἰακώβου ὡς Κ
μὸς: πλάτῃς τὰ πάντα
ἐν σοφίᾳ. ἀποκαταστή
σεις, μὴ εἰς, ἡμέραι γ.
Strom. lib. I. p. 249.

years, must be computed according to the *Arabian*, or *Egyptian* Account, who varied from this in our year, in that they had only 365 days in a year, never taking notice of the odd Hours, or Quadrants, of a Day, that every fourth Year makes a whole Day, and are accordingly by us then added to the Month of *February*, which maketh the Bissextile or Leapyear. So that though the *Egyptians* always begun their Year with the first day of the Month *Thoth*, yet making no Account of the Annual odd Hours, that Month wandereth throughout the whole Year. And whereas now the first Day of that Month is the first Day of our *March*, about Seven Hundred Years hence, it will be the first of *September*; and after Seven Hundred Years more, or near thereabouts, it will come to the first of *March* again. Wherefore that we may reduce unto our

our Style this Calculation of *Clement Alexandrinus*, we must deduce, for those odd Hours which are not accounted, one Month and Eighteen Days, and so reckoning the Birth of Christ from the Death of *Commodus*, which happened on the first Day of January, to be One Hundred Ninety Four Years, wanting five or six Days, it will appear that Christ was born on the 25th or 26th of the Month of December, according to the Julian Account, which is the Epoch we follow.

But as the same Father farther writes in the

Ἰστορίαι δὲ τοῦ αἰώνος
πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ σω-
τῆρος ἡμῶν· ἡ μὲν τοῦ
ἔτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμέ-
ρας περιεσθίου, ὅτι πα-
ρίσταται· ἐν περὶ Πά-
χων καὶ φασμά. Ibid. p.
249.

same place, There were
some, who more cautiously
searching after the Year
and Day of Christ's Na-
tivity, affixed the latter
to the 25th of the Month
Pachon, Now in that
Year in which Christ

was born, the Month Pachon commenced the
twentieth Day of April. So that according
to this Computation Christ was born the 16th.
Day of May. Nay, there were yet some o-
ther ingenious Men, as the same Father con-

καὶ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν
παρὰ φασμάδι ἡμερῶν
καὶ ἡ 25. Ibid. p. 249.

tinue to write, that
assigned Christ's Nativity
to the 24th or 25th of
the Month Pharmuthi,
which answers to our

16th or 17th of April. So that there were
Diversities of Opinion concerning the Time
of Christ's Birth, which makes it very pro-
bable, that there was then no particular Feast
observed

observed in Commemoration of that Glorious and transcendent Mercy.

§ 5. There is yet another Feast called by us *Epiphany*, wherein there is a Commemoration of Christs Baptism, which I find to have been peculiarly Solemized by the *Basiliidian* Hereticks. For thus *Clement Alexandrianus* reports it to be a particular Custom of theirs, *to keep as a Festival the day of Christs Baptism*. The Day on which Christ was baptized, & they said to be the fifteenth of the Month *Tyby*, in the fifteenth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius*; which answers to our One and Thirtieth of December; or as others imagin'd it, On the Eleventh of the Month *Tyby*, which was the Seven and Twentieth of our December.

§ 6. Besides these forementioned Festivals, there were none others observed to the Honour of the blessed Jesus, nor of the Virgin *Mary*, nor of the Holy Apostles and Evangelists; and which may be a little observable, it is very seldom, if ever, that the Ancients give the Title of Saints to those Holy Persons.

- 1 A Petro ordinatum. *sons, but singly, Kyle them, v Peter, & Paul, 3 Teetul. de Praescript. advers. Marc. p. 98. John & c; not St. Peter,*
- 2 Tunc Romulus, &c. *idem. St. Paul, or St. John. Scorpiae. advers. Gualt. p. 615.*
- 3 Ab Johanne conlocatum. *idem de Praescript. advers. Hæter p. 78.*

§ 7. But now there was another sort of Festivals, which every Church Celebrated in the Commemoration of its own Martyrs; which was, on the Anniversary Day of their Martyrdoms: They assembled together; where they recited the Martyrs Glorious Actions, exhorted to an Imitation of them, and blessed

God for them. So says Cyprian, & *The Passions of the Martyrs we Celebrate with an Anniversary Commemoration.* And so

Epist. 34. § 3. p. 80. writes Tertullian, & *Upon the Annual Day of the Martyrs Sufferings, we offer Thanks to God for them.* When this

Practice began, cannot certainly be determined; it is first found mentioned in the Letter of the Church of *Millina* to the Church of *Philomelin*, touching the Death of *Polycarp*, wherein they write,

That they had gathered up his Martyr's Bones and

and buried them in a decent place, where, say they, if possible, we will meet to celebrate with Joy and Gladness the Birth-day of his Martyrdom. Hence that they might be certain of the very day of the Martyrs

Sufferings, there were some appointed to take an exact Account of them, and faithfully to register them, that so there might be no mistake. Thus Cyprian writ from his Exile to the Clergy of his Church, That they should

take special care, exactly to note down the very day of the Martyrdom of the Faithful, that so they might be commemorated amongst the Memories of the Martyrs, and to signify to him the precise time of their Departure to a glorious Immortality, that so he might also celebrate it.

ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀπεθῆ-
μεθα. ὅπου καὶ ἀκολούθῳ ἡ
ἐκείνου δυνάτον ἡμῶν συ-
νερχομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλίᾳ καὶ
χαρᾷ, προσέξῃ ὁ Κύριος
ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τῷ μαρτυρίᾳ
αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, A-
pud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 13.
p. 135.

1. Dies eorum, quibus ex-
cedunt, annotare, ut com-
memorationes eorum in-
ter memorias Martyrum
celebrare possimus— Sig-
nificet mihi dies quibus in
carcere beati fratres nostri
ad immortalitatem glorio-
sæ mortis exitu transeunt,
& celebrentur his à nobis
oblationes & Sacrificia ob
commemorationes eorum
Epist. 37 § 2. p 87, 88.

§ 8. The Reasons for which they observed these Festivals, we find in the forementioned Letter of the Church of Smirna, wherein they write That they would meet to celebrate with Joy and Gladness the Mar-

2 Ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τῷ
μαρτυρίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γε-
νέθλιον

ἡθληκότων μνήμην, ἢ τῶν
μαρτύρων ἀπομνησκόντων τε ἢ
ἐτοιμασίας. Apud Eu-
sebi. lib. 4. cap. 15. p.
135.

dom of Polycarp, for
the Commemoration of
those who had already
gloriously striven, and for
the Confirmation and Pre-
paration of others by their

Examples. So that their Design was two-fold, to animate and encourage others to follow the glorious Examples of those Heroick Martyrs, who were commemorated before their Eyes, and to declare the Honour and Veneration, that they had for those invincible Champions of Jesus Christ, who by their Martyrdoms were now freed from all their Miseries and Torments, and Translated to a blessed and glorious Immortality, in an happy manner experiencing the Truth of that Scripture in *Ecclesiastes* 7. 1. That the day of a Man's Death is better than the day of his Birth. Whence the Time of the Martyrs Deaths was usually termed their Birth-Day, because then was a Period of all their Grief and Trouble, and a beginning of their everlasting Bliss and Felicity. Thus in the forementioned Letter of the Church of *Smirna* concerning the Death

of Polycarp, they write,
2 That they would meet to
celebrate with joy and
gladness the Birth-day of
his Martyrdom. And so
Tertullian says, that 3
they annually commemora-
red the Birth-days of the
Martyrs; that is, their
Death-days;

1 Τῷ μαρτυρῶν αὐτῶ
ἡμέραν γενέθλιον. Apud
Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p.
135.

2 Oblationes pro de-
functis, pro nataliis an-
nua die facimus, De Coron
Milij. p. 339.

Deathdays; as he writes in another place concerning *S. Paul*, *That he was born at Rome, when he suffered Martyrdom there.*

1 Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem, cum illic Martyrii renasceretur generositate. *Scorpiac. adv. Gnostic.* p. 615.

§ 9. As for the Place where these Anniversary Solemnities were performed, it was at the Tombs of the Martyrs, who were usually buried with the rest of the Faithful, in a distinct place from the Heathens, it being their Custom to intert the Christians by themselves, separate from the Pagans; accounting it an hainous Crime, if possibly it could be prevented, to mingle their Sacred Ashes with the defiled ones of their Persecuting and Idolatrous Neighbours. Wherefore in the Ratification of the Disposition of *Martialis* Bishop of *Astorga* by an *African* Synod held Anno 258, this was one of the Articles alledg'd against him, *That he had buried his Sons after the Pagan manner, in Gentile Sepulchres, amongst Men of another Faith.* And for this

2 Filios — exterarum gentium more apud profana Sepulchra depositos, & alienigenis conspultos, *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. § 7. p. 202.*

Reason it was, that the surviving Christians would run upon ten thousand Hazards, to collect the scattered Members of the Dead Martyrs, and decently to inter them in the common Repository of the Faithful. As when *Emilian* the barbarous Prefect of *Egypt*, forbade any, under Severe Penalties, to entomb the Dead Bodies of the murdered Saints, and se-

duously watched if any would durst to do it.

1 Τὰς τῶν σωματικῶν
μεροῦς τῶν τλειόντων ὁ
μαρτυρίων ἐκ ἀποδύσεως, καὶ
τελειῶν. Dionys. Alexand.
apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11.
p. 61.

Freedom, whereby *Asturias* a Roman Senator rendered himself renowned, in that when

2 Παρὸν τινὶ καὶ τῷ
Λογιστῇ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ, τὴν
ἐκείνου ὑποδείξας ἐπὶ λαμ-
πρῆς καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἔδωκε
τῷ ἄλλῳ ὁ σὺν ἑαυτῷ, ἐπι-
βρετάς, περιεβρετάς τε ἐν
ἐκείνῳ, πλοῦτος τῇ ποσότη-
τι τῶν παραδιδόντων.
Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16. p.
964.

Vienne in France to the Churches of *Asia*, concerning their sore and grievous Persecutions, we find them passionately complaining of the Inhumane Cruelty of their Persecutors,

3 Τὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν
προσέχῳ καὶ δεινῇ πέν-
θει, διὰ τὴν μὴ δύνασθαι
τὰ σωματὰ κρύψαι τῇ γῇ,
ὥστε γὰρ νῦν ἀποκατα-
στῆναι ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ κατὰ
ἀρχαία ἑτάδῃ, καὶ λεί-
πειν ἑδωκότων, παντὶ δὲ
πρόσθετον ἀνεγέρθη αἰς μὴ
παύσεσθαι, αἰ μὴ τὸ χρεῖον
ταρβῆς. Apud Euseb. lib.
5. cap. 1. p. 169.

joyced, that they had gotten the most precious

Yet *Eusebius* a Deacon of *Alexandria* resolutely ventured upon it; And it is applauded by the Historian as an Act of Religious Boldness and

Asturias a Roman Senator rendered himself renowned, in that when

he saw the Martyrdom of *Marinus* at *Cæsaræa*, he took his martyred Body, clothed it with a precious Garment, bare it away on his own Shoulders, and magnificently and decently interr'd it. And

in a Letter from the Christians of *Lyons* and the Churches of *Asia*,

concerning their sore and grievous Persecutions, we find them passionately complaining of the Inhumane Cruelty of their Persecutors,

that neither Prayers nor Tears, neither Gold nor Silver, could prevail with them, to permit them to collect the dead Bodies of their murdered Brethren, and decently to interr them. As on the other

hand, the Faithful of the Church of *Smirna* re-

Bones

Bones of Polycarp, which they buried *απὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, καθὼς αὐτοὶ ἐνόησαν, ἐν τῇ κοινῇ ταφῇ, ὡς ὁ Πάππας ἀποφασίζει.* Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

where they thought, as Valerius renders it; that is, as seems most probable, at the common Burying Place of the Christians.

Now it was at these Tombs and Sepulchres that the Memorials of the Martyrs were solemnized. Thus in the forecited Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philadelphia, they write, that at *ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅπου καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἄνθρωπος ἡμῶν σωμαζομένου ἐν ἀ- ταρταγῇ, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος πα- τὴρ οὗ Κλειῶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ μετὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἡλικίας πρεσβύτης.* Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

in that place where they had interred the Bones of Polycarp, they bauld by the Blessing of God assemble together, and celebrate his Martyrdom; which was a Practice so usual and constant, as that the Heathens observed it: So that as on the one hand, under the Persecution of Valerian, Aquilian the Prefect of Egypt threatened Dionysius Alexandrinus and his Fellow-Sufferers, that for their Obstinacy and Ingratitude, as he termed it, he would send them into Libya, to a desert place called *Κεφονα, ὅπου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστί.* That is, the places where the Mar- tyrs and the rest of the Faithful were buried; so on the other hand when Gallienus Valerian's Son restored Peace

3 Οὐδανὺς δὲ ἔστι
— ἢ σωμαδὺς παρὰ δαί.
— ἢ εἰς τὰ καλόμενα κο-
μητὴν εἰσέναι. Dion.
Alex. apud Euseb. lib. 7.
cap. 11. p. 258.

to the Churches, he published an express Edict for returning to

1 Τὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἁγίους, Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13. p. 262. *the Christians the Communion, that were taken from them.*

§ 1. If in the next place it shall be enquired, how they observed these Festival Days.

I answer, that they did not, according to the fashion of the Heathens, spend them in Riot and Debauchery, in Bacchanalian Revellings and Luxury, but in Religious Exercises and

2 Εὐχαρίστησι κατὰ ἡμέρας, ὅτε τὸ δέοντα ποιεῖται, καὶ ἐχθροὶ. οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῶν δαίμων ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῦ δέοντος ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις. Contra Gellum, lib. 8. p. 392. *Employments, in Prayers and Devotions. He, saith Origen, truly keeps a Festival, who does what he ought to do, always praying, and by his Prayers offering up unbloody Sacrifices unto God.*

The Solemnities of these Feast Days were not Drunkenness and Gluttony, but Acts of Piety and Charity. Now they publickly assembled, as the Church of Smyrna writes in her Letter concerning the Death of Polycarp,

3 Ἔτι τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων δοκῶν τὴν εὐδοκίαν, Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135. *to commemorate the Martyrs Courage and Triumphs, and to exhort and prepare others to the same glorious and renowned Actions.*

4 Oblationes facturus, De Coron. Milit. p. 339. *Or as Tertullian expresses it, they offered Oblations.*

as Cyprian, *They offered Oblations and Sacrifices*; that is, they offered Thanks and Praise to God; that had given Grace to those Martyrs, to Seal his Truths with their Blood, and in Evidence of their Gratitude distributed of their Substance to the Poor and Indigent.

Celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes & Sacrificia
Epist. 37. § 2. p. 88.

CHAP. X.

§ 1. *Of the Rights and Circumstances. The difference between them.* § 2. *Of Ceremonies: but they differ by the Ancients, which although obvious things steps into the Church.* § 3. *Of Rites: Every Church followed its own Rites without imposing them on any other.* § 4. *The Authority of every Church obliged to observe the Rites of that Church where they lived.* § 5. *The Conclusion of this Enquiry, with an earnest Persuasion to Peace, Unity and Moderation.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in the precedent Chapters enquired into the several Parts of Divine Worship, and the Circumstances thereof, I now come to close up all with a brief Appendix concerning Rites and Ceremonies, by which I mean two different things: By Rites, I understand such Actions as have an inseparable Relation to the Circumstances or manner of Worship: As for Instance. The Sacrament was to be received in one manner or other, but whether from the Bishop or Deacon, that was the Rite. Lent was to be observed a certain space of Time, but whether One Day, or Two Days, or Three Days, that was the Rite thereof. So that Rites are necessary Concomitants of the Circumstances of Divine Worship, Appendages to them; or, if you rather please, you may call them Circumstances themselves.

By

By Ceremonies, I mean such Actions as have no regard either to the Manner or Circumstances of Divine Worship, but the Acts thereof may be performed without them; as for instance, in some Churches they gave to Persons *1* when they were baptized, Milk and Honey. And, *2* Before they prayed, they washed their Hands. Now both these Actions I call Ceremonies, because they were not necessary to the Discharge of those Acts of Divine Worship, unto which they were affixed; but those Acts might be performed without them; as Baptism might be entirely administered without the Ceremony of giving Milk and Honey, and Prayers might be presented without washing of Hands.

1 Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus. *Tertul. de Coron. Milit. p. 337.*

2 Manibus ablutis. Orationem obire. *Idem De Oratione, p. 659.*

Now having explained what I intend by those two Terms of Rites and Ceremonies, let us in the next place consider the Practice of the Primitive Church with reference thereunto. And first for Ceremonies,

§ 2. It is apparent that there were many of that kind crept into the Church, of whom we may say, that from the beginning they were not so: For when *2* the Quire of the Apostles was dead, till which time, as Eusebius writes, the Church remained a pure and unspotted Virgin; then the

2 ὡς δὲ ἔειπεν τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὴ διαφθαρῆς ἐλάττειν τὴν βίβλιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς πλὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύνοδος. *Apud Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 32. p. 104.*

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Church was gradually spotted and corrupted, as in her Doctrin, so also in her Worship, an Infinity of Ceremonies by degrees insensibly sliding in, very many of which were introduced within my limited

1 Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus, exq; ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus *Ter. vii. de Coron Milir. p. 337.*
 2 a Manibus ablutis—— orationem obire—— ad, signata oratione, assidendi mos est quibuscum Idem *de Orat. p 659 669.*

time, as 1 the eating of Milk & Honey after Baptism, the abstaining from Baths the Week after, 2 the washing of their Hands before Prayer, their sitting after Prayer, and many other such like, which through various

ways and means winded themselves into the Church; as some came in through Custom and Tradition; one eminent Man perhaps invented and practised a certain Action, which he used himself, as Judging it fit and proper to stir up his Devotion and Affection; others being led by his Example performed the same, and others again imitated them; and so one followed another, till at length the Action became a Tradition and Custom, after which manner those Ceremonies were introduced,

3 Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus——die Dominico nefas ducimus de geniculis adorare, eadem immunitate à die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudeamus

3 of tasting Milk and Honey after Baptism, of abstaining from the Baths the whole ensuing Week, of not kneeling on the Lords Day, and the space between Easter and Whitsuntide, of the Signing of themselves with the Sign of

of the Cross in all their Actions and Conversations, concerning which and the like, Tertullian writes, *That there was no Law in Scripture for them, but that Tradition was their Author, and Custom their Confirmer.* Of which Custom we may say what Tertullian says of Custom in general, that commonly Custom takes its rise from Ignorance and Simplicity, which by Succession is corroborated into use, and so vindicated against the Truth: But our Lord Christ hath called himself Truth, and not Custom: wherefore if Christ was always, and before all, then Truth was first and ancientest, it is not so much Novelty as Perversity that confutes Hereticks: Whatsoever is against the Truth is Heresy, although it be an old Custom.

Others again were introduced through a wrong Exposition or Misunderstanding of the Scriptures, so were their Exorcisms before Baptism, and their Unctions after Baptism, as in their proper places hath been already shewn.

Finally,

ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum—quacunq; nos conversationis exercet frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Harum & aliarum ejusmodi Disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies, traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix. Idem de Corin. Milit. p. 337. 340, 341.

Fere consuetudo initium ab aliqua ignorantia vel simplicitate sortita in usum per successionem corroboratur, & ita adversus veritatem vindicatur, sed Dominus noster Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit. Si semper Christus & prior omnibus æque veritas sempiterna & antiqua res—Hæreses non tam novitas quam veritas revincit, quodcumq; adversus veritatem sapit hoc erit Hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo. De Virg. veland. p. 285.

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Finally, Others crept in through their Dwelling amongst the Pagans, who in their ordinary Conversations used an Infinity of Superstitions; and many of those Pagans, when they were converted to the Saving Faith, Christianiz'd some of their innocent former Ceremonies, as they esteem'd them to be; either thinking them decent and proper to stir up their Devotion, or likely to gain over more Heathens, who were offended at the plainness and nakedness of the Christian Worship of which

1 Manus ablutis —
orationem obire — ad
signata oratione assiden-
di mos — gentilibus
adstant. De Orat. p.
659, 660.

fort were their washing
of Hands before Prayer,
their sitting after Prayer,
and such like. Concern-
ing which Tertullian af-
firms, that they were
practis'd by the Heathens.

So that by these and such like Methods it was, that so many Ceremonies imperceptibly slid into the ancient Church, of some of which

2 Quibus merito vani-
tas exprobanda est, siquidem
sine ullius aut Domini
aut Apostolici præcepti
auctoritate sunt, huiusmodi
enim non Religioni, sed
Superstitioni deputantur,
affectu Ecclesiæ
acta & gratia potius quam
rationalis officii. Certe
vel eo coercenda quod
gentilibus adstant. De
Orat. p. 659.

Tertullian gives this
severe Censure, 1 That
they are deservedly to be
condemned as vain, be-
cause they are done with-
out the Authority of any
Precept, either of our
Lord, or of his Apostles;
that they are not Religi-
ous, but Superstitious, af-
fected and constrained,
curious rather than rea-

sonable, and to be abstained from because Hea-
thenish.

§ 3. As for the Rites and Customs of the Primitive Church, these were indifferent and arbitrary; all Churches being left to their own Freedom and Liberty to follow their peculiar Customs and Usages, or to embrace those of others, if they pleased; from whence it is, that we find such a variety of Methods in their Divine Services, many of which may be observed in the precedent part of this Discourse; as some received the Lords Supper at one time, others at another; Some Churches received the Elements from the Hands of the Bishop, others from the Hands of the Deacons; some made a Collection before the Sacrament, others after; some kept *Lent* one Day, some two days, and others exactly forty Hours; some celebrated *Easter* on the same Day with the Jewish Passover, others the Lords Day after; and so in many other things one Church differed from another, as *Firmilian* writes, that at Rome they did not observe the same Day of Easter, nor many other Customs which were practised at Jerusalem; and so in most Provinces many Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places.

1 Circa celebrandos dies Pasche, & circa multa alia divina re Sacramenta vident esse apud alios aliquas diversitates, nec observari illic omnia equaliter, quæ Hierosolymis observantur, secundum quod in cæteris quoq; plurimis provinciis in ista pro loco, nomina & nominum diversitate variantur. Apud *Cyprian* Epist. 75. § 5. p. 237.

So that every Church followed its own particular Customs, although different from those of its Neighbours, it being nothing necessary to

to the Unity of the Church, to have an Uniformity of Rites; for according to *Firmilian*,

the Unity of the Church consisted in an unanimity of Faith and Truth, not in an

Uniformity of Modes and Customs; for on the contrary, the Diversity of them, as *Irenæus* speaks with reference to the East of *Leontius*

2 *H. Iapewia* *in* *Epist.* 75. § 2. p. 236. 2 *did commend and set forth the Unity of the Faith.*
scias rlv. eubrotav in
scias rlv. eubrotav in Apud Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 199.

Hence every Church peaceably followed her own Customs, without obliging any other Churches to observe the same; or being obliged by them to observe the Rites that they used, yet still maintaining a loving Correspondence, and mutual Concord each with other, as *Firmilian* writes, that in most

3 *Plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholice pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 4. p. 237.* *Provinces many Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places; but yet, saith he, never any one for this broke the Peace and Unity of the Church.* One

Church or Bishop did not in those days Anathematize another for a disagreement in Rites and Customs; except when *Victor* Bishop of Rome, through his Pride and Turbulency, excommunicated the Asiatick Bishops for their different Observation of Easter from the Church of

of Rome; which Action of his was very ill
resented by the other Bishops of the Christi-
an Churches, and condemned by them as ali-
en from Peace and Unity, and contrary to
that Love and Charity, which is the very
Soul and Spirit of the Gospel; even the Bi-
shops of his own Party, that celebrated *Easter*
on the same Day that he did, censured his
rashness and violence, as unchristian and un-
charitable, and writ several Letters, wherein
i they severely checkt

him, as *Eusebius* reports,
in whose time they
were extant, all which

1 Πλησιικώτερον καὶ θα-
πτόμενον. Lib. 5. cap. 24.
p. 192.

are now lost, except the Fragment of an E-
pistle, written by *Irenæus*, and other Bishops
of France, wherein 2 they affirm, that *Victor*
was in the right with
respect to the time of *Ea-
ster*, that it ought to be
celebrated, as he said,
on the Lords Day, but
that yet he had done very
ill to cut off from the U-
nity of the Church those
that observed it otherwise;
that it had never been
known, that any Churches
were excommunicated for
a disagreement in Rites,
an instance of which there
was not only in the time
of *Easter* its self, but in

2 Παιδείσεται μὲν τὸ δαῖν
ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς
ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τε κυριακῆς ἀνα-
στάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστή-
ριον, τῷ γὰρ μὴν Βίβλου περὶ
σηκόντως ὡς μὴ ἀπὸ πλῆ-
θους ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἀρ-
χαῖα ἔδωκε παρὰ πολλοὺς ἐπι-
τηνύοντες— ἡ δὲ γὰρ μόνον
παρὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅταν ἡ
ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πα-
ρὰ τῷ εἶδος αὐτῆς τῆς ἡ-
μέρας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰοντο
μὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι αὐτῆς ἡ-
μέρας, οἱ δὲ δύο οἱ δὲ καὶ
πλείους οἱ δὲ πᾶσαι ἀγα-
νοντα ἀφ' ἡμετέρας τε καὶ
συκρίτως συμμέτρως τῷ
ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιαυτῇ
μὲν ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηνύ-
ων, ἡ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γὰρ
the

οὐα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴ περὶ
 τὴν ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν
 — καὶ ἔδεν ἑκάστον πα-
 ρὰ ἑαυτοῦ εὐχόμενος καὶ
 ἐκδοξάζων τὴν ἀλλήλῃ,
 καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νουθεσίας
 τῶν οὐμνοῦν τῆς πίστεως
 συνίστασι — καὶ διὰ τὴν Σο-
 τὴν πρεσβυτέρου οὐκ ἔχο-
 οῦντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡς
 νῦν ἀφῆλται. Αἰνέματι λέ-
 γομεν καὶ Πίον, Ἰνόν τε
 καὶ Τελεφφόνον καὶ Εὐσυν,
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν, καὶ
 τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον,
 καὶ ἔδεν ἑκάστον αὐτοὶ μὴ
 πρῆναι, εἰρηάζον τῆς ἀπο-
 τῆς παροικίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ
 ταῖς ἐρχομένοις περὶ αὐ-
 τῶν — καὶ ἔδῃ ποτὶ διὰ τὸ
 εἶδος τῆτο ἀπεβλήθησαν
 πτες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ πρῆν-
 τες οἱ περὶ οὗ πρεσβυτέρου
 τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν παροικούν-
 τῶν ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐυχαιεῖ-
 σαι καὶ τὴν μακαρίαν Πολυ-
 κάρπῳ ἐπισημῶσαντο ἐν
 ῥάβδῳ ἐπὶ Ἀνικητοῦ, καὶ πτεὶ
 ἄλλων πῶν ῥα καὶ ἐτεροῦ
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐδὲς ἐβου-
 λῶσαν, ὥστε τότε τῷ κα-
 φαλαῖ μὴ φιλοεξησάντες
 πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ὥστε καὶ Ἀνί-
 κησιν τὸν Πολυκάρπον πτε-
 σαι ἐδωκετο μὴ πρῆναι —
 καὶ μὴ οὐ Πολυκάρπῳ τὸν
 Ἀνικητὸν ἐπισκοπεῖν — καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντων, ἐκοι-
 τήνοσαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέχοντες οὐ
 Ἀνικητῶν ἐυχαιεῖσθαι τῷ

the Fast that preceded
 it: Some fasted one day;
 others more; some forty
 hours, which variety of
 Observations began not
 first in our Age, but long
 before us in the times of
 our Ancestors; who yet
 preserved Peace and Unity
 amongst themselves, as we
 now do; for the Diversity
 of Fasts commended the
 Unity of Faith: And as
 for this Controversie con-
 cerning the time of Ea-
 ster, the Bishops which
 governed the Church of
 Rome before Soter, viz.
 Anicetus, Pius, Higy-
 nus, Telephorus, and
 Xystus, they never cele-
 brated it the same time
 with the Asiatics, nei-
 ther would they permit
 any of their People so to
 do: but yet they were
 kind and peaceable to
 those who came to them
 from those Parishes, where
 they did otherwise observe
 it, and never any for this
 Cause were thrown out of
 the Church; even your
 Predecessors, though they
 did

did not keep it, yet they sent the Eucharist to those that did keep it; and when in the times of Anicetus, blessed Polycarp came to Rome, and there were some Controversies between them, they did

Πολυκάρπου καὶ Ἀνικητῶν
ἀλλήλων ἀπολαύσαντες, πε-
ρὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦς εἰρήνης
ἔχοντων καὶ τῶν πρῶτων.
καὶ τῶν μὴ πρῶτων. Ἀ-
πὸδ Εὐφ. lib. 5. cap. 24.
P. 192, 193.

not separate from one another, but still maintained Peace and Love: And though Anicetus could never persuade Polycarp, nor Polycarp Anicetus to be of each others mind, yet they communicated one with another; and Anicetus in Honour to Polycarpus, permitted him to Consecrate the Sacrament in his Church, and so they departed in mutual love and kindness; and all the Churches, whether observing, or not observing the same Day, retained Peace and Unity amongst themselves.

§ 4. But though one Church could not oblige another to a Conformity in Rites and Customs, yet a particular Church or Parish could enforce its own Members to such a Conformity, an instance whereof we meet with in that famous Controversie about the Time of Easter. It was the Custom of the *Asiaticks* to celebrate that Feast at the Full Moon, or at the same time with the Jewish Passover, on whatsoever day of the Week it happened. It was the manner at *Rome* to observe it the Lords Day after, and both these Churches quietly followed their several Usages, without imposing them on each other. But yet the Churches of *Asia* permitted none of their

Members to solemnize it after the Roman manner; neither did the Churches of *Rome*, or of the West, license any of their Inhabitants to celebrate it after the Asiatick manner; for if either of them had granted any such thing, there must have ensued Confusion and Disorder, to have seen *Easter* differently observed in one and the same Church; whilst some Members of a Parish where Fasting, to behold others Feasting, would have been a perfect Ataxy and Irregularity: Therefore though *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* retained Peace and Unity with Foreign Churches, that differed from him as to the Time of *Easter*, without obliging them to a Compliance with the Roman Custom; yet he peremptorily required it of the Members of his own Church, and

‘*Quis nris ius daret*’ ‘*would never permit them*
interior. Iren. apud Eu- to solemnize that Feast
 feb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193. on the same time with
 the Asiaticks.

So that though every Church had the Liberty to use what Rites she pleased, yet every particular Member had not, but was obliged to observe the Manners and Customs of that Church where he lived, or where he occasionally communicated. A Church Collectively, or the Majority of a Church with their Bishop could change their old Customs, and introduce new ones, as was done in the Affair of *Easter*, the Asiaticks at length submitting to the Roman Usage; but till that was done, every particular Member was required to follow the

old

old Customs of that Church, to which he belonged, and not to bring in any Innovations or new Rites, because, as was said before, that would beget Tumults and Disorders, and the Persons so acting would be guilty of that Strife and Contention, which is condemned by those Words of the Holy Apostle 1 Cor. 11. 16. *But if any Man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom; neither the Churches of God.* Which is, as if the Apostle had said, If any Men, either to shew their Wit, or to head and strengthen a Party, will contradict what we have said, and affirm it to be decent and comely, either for Men to pray covered, or Women uncovered, This should silence such Contentious Opposers, that there is no such Rite or Custom in any of the Churches of God, but their Practice is the very same with what we have directed unto, and therefore to that they ought peaceably and quietly to submit and yield.

Thus now I have finished this Enquiry, and have as far as I could, search'd into what was first proposed. If I have not illustrated any Point, as clearly as might be expected, the reason is, because I found nothing farther pertinent thereunto in those Writings to which I am confined; if I had, I should freely have mentioned it. Whether I have been mistaken in the Sense and Meaning of any Passage, I must leave unto my Readers to judge; all that I can say is, that I am not conscious to my self of any wilful and designed Mistakes, having throughout this whole Discourse en-

deavoured to find out the plain and naked Truth, without being byass'd to any Party or Faction whatsoever; and that if any one shall be so kind and favourable as to convince me of any Slips or Errors, which I may have committed through Inconsideration, or want of a due Understanding, I shall thankfully acknowledge them, and willingly renounce and leave them.

§ 5. What hath been related concerning the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church shall suffice, I have nothing more to add, but mine earnest Intreaty and Persuasion unto all those, into whose Hands this little Treatise shall fall, to imitate and follow the Primitive Christians in their Moderation and the Peaceableness of their Temper and Disposition. In those happy days the Christians were so eminent above all other Sects for their mutual Love and Charity, that the Heathens observed it with a-

stonishment, and cried out with Admiration,

1 Behold, how they love one another! 2 We are,

saith Tertullian, ready to die for each other; and we call one another Brethren, because we acknowledge one, and the same God the Father, and have been sanctified by the same holy Spirit, and have been brought

1 Vide, inquit, ut invicem se diligant: Tertul. Apolog. cap. 29. p. 709.

2 Pro alterutro mori sunt parati— Fratres nos vocamus— quia unum patrem Deum agnoverunt, qui unum Spiritum hiberunt, sanctificatis, qui de uno utero ignati sunt ejusdem ad unam lucem exierunt: Tertul. Ibidem, p. 709.

brought from the same state of Ignorance, to the light of the same marvellous Truth. But alas!

1 Lam. 4. v. 1.

How is the Gold become dim! How is the most fine Gold changed!

How is that Love and Charity now turned into Malice and Cruelty! Pity, Compassion, and Tender-heartedness have left the World, and Envy, Hatred and Rancour are succeeded in their Places; Love is now exploded as ungenteel and mean, Charity is condemned as abject and base, whilst Hatred, Revenge and Bury are esteemed as Noble and Generous.

But, O Lord, how long? Shall Malice and Envy, Wrath and Pride for ever ride Triumphant and uncontrolled? When wilt thou, O Prince of Peace, and God of Love, heal our Breaches, and compose our Differences,

2 Ephes. 4. 2, 3.

and cause us 2 with all lowliness and meekness, and long-suffering to forbear one another in Love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace?

We have too too long unnaturally quarrelled already, and to the Dishonour of God, and the Scandal of Religion, have most unchristianly abused each other: I speak not this only of one Party, but of all; we have all been guilty as to this matter, we have all erred and gone astray from the most Holy Commandment, and have been deficient every one of us in this great and necessary Duty of Love and Unity: We have loathed Concord, and loved jars and Divisions, and have been always back-biting, persecuting and maligning

ligning one another to this very day, never at all remembering that we were Brethren, and Professors of the same blessed and glorious Religion.

But what shall I say? This Theme is too harsh and displeasing; if it is an unpleasant Work to rip up those uncharitable Actions, may they be buried in perpetual silence and oblivion, and never more be remembered, so as to stir up Anger and Revenge, but only so as they may produce in us all Humility, Repentance, and mutual Forgiveness; let us now with our Floods of Penitential Tears at once quench God's Anger for our past Divisions, and the Flames of our present Fire and Heats, that so there may be no Fuel for future Contentions; and being grieved that we have played the Fool so long, we may now the more firmly resolve by the Grace of God to do so no more, that so however infamous we have been heretofore for our blind Zeal and unaccountable Animosities, we may for the time to come be highly renowned and conspicuous for our ardent Love and fervent Charity; *Putting away all*

bitterness and Wrath, 1 Ephes. 4. 32, 33
and Anger, and Clamour,
and evil speaking, with all Malice, being kind to
one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another,
even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us, a Putting on (as the
Elect of God, holy and 2 Colos. 3. 12, 13)
beloved) Bowels of Mercy,
kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long
suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving
one another.

Certain

Certain I am, we need no Arguments to induce us hereunto; both the necessity and Facility of Love and Unity require it at our hands; its necessity is evident from hence, that whilst we spend our Zeal and Heat about these inconsiderable matters, the very Foundations of Faith and Morals are attack'd and shaken, Atheism increases, Immorality prevails, and those damnable Heresies, which for many Ages have been silenced and abandoned, are now revived by Men of a corrupt Faith, who take an occasion from the Lawlessness and Licentiousness of this present Age, to vent those cursed Tenents, which eradicate and destroy all Religion; it is to be feared, that unless we hasten to compose our Differences about the Skirts and Fringes of Religion, the very Vitals and Essentials thereof will be corroded and devoured by Heresie and Profaneness.

And as for these and the like Reasons the necessity of an Union or Comprehension is manifest on the one Hand, so the Facility of such an Union is as apparent on the other hand; for, thanks be to God, our Differences are neither about Faith nor Manners; we all believe in one and the same God, hope to be saved by one and the same Redeemer, desire to be sanctified by one and the same Sanctifier, receive one and the same Scriptures, assent to the same Doctrins, and acknowledge the necessity of the same Duties. Our Disputes are only about lesser matters, about Modes and Forms, about Gestures and Postures, and such like inferior matters, about which it should

should grieve a wise Man to quarrel, and which with the greatest ease in the World might be composed and settled, if managed by Men of Prudence and Moderation; and such Men, tis hoped, are the Reverend Bishops advanced by their Majesties, whose Promotion to those Places of Dignity and Trust many honest and peaceable Men look upon as a good Omen and Prognostick of our Future Union and happy Establishment.

With these two Considerations let us remember those solemn Vows and Engagements, which we made to Almighty God, and to one another in the day of our late Distress; how we then vow'd and promised, that if God would be pleased to deliver and rescue us, we would forget our Differences, and mutually condescend and abate of our Rigour and Severity: Wherefore now since God hath so wonderfully saved us, let us not be so perfidious and faithless, as to neglect to perform what we then obliged our selves unto; but let us willingly and conscientiously discharge it, lest God bring severer Judgments on us then ever, and at once utterly destroy us both Root and Branch, for our Lying, Perjury and Hypocrisy.

Many other such cogent Arguments I might easily produce; but that I may avoid too great Prolixity and Tedioussness, I shall urge but one more, which is, that unless we have an unifying Spirit, and a peaceable Disposition, we are no true Christians; we unjustly arrogate that glorious Name; for the very Soul of Christianity is Love and Charity,

1 The Kingdom of God, faith the Apostle, is not 1 Rom. 14. 17. 18. Meat and Drink, not zealous Disputes and Strifes about lesser Points, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; for he that in these serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men. It is an Absurdity and a meer Contradiction, for a Man to say that he is Religious, and yet to be malicious and uncharitable. Our Saviour flatly tells us, that 2 by this, all

a John. 13. 35.

Men shall know that we are his Disciples, if we have Love one to another. We may talk, what we please of Religion, and profess what we list; the Word of God is plain, that whoever hath not Love and Charity, is no Christian; but to allude to that of Christ, John 10. 1. He is a Thief and a Robber, he hath not the Spirit of God abiding and dwelling in him; for

3 The Fruit of the Spirit. 3 Gal. 5. 22. 23.

is Love, Joy, Peace, Long suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance. And 4 The

4 James. 3. 17.

Wisdom from above, is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good Fruit. So that the very Soul and Spirit of Christianity consists in Unity, Love, and Amity.

Wherefore let my Intreaties be prevalent with you to endeavour for a mutual Compliance and Comprehension, as you have any Regard to the Honour of God, and the Credit of Religion; as you would hinder the Growth of Damnable Errors, and abominable Debaucheries,

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cheries, and do what in you lies to prevent the Ruin and Damnation of Multitudes of poor Souls; nay, as you would secure your own Salvation, and be able with Confidence to appear at the dreadful and impartial day of Judgment, let me conjure you in the Name of

God: 1 to love one another with a pure Heart fervently, 2 to follow after

Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness; to forget and pardon all former Injuries and Affronts, 3

3 1 Phil. 3. 14. doing nothing for the

time to come, through Strife or Vain-Glory, but in lowliness of Mind, each esteeming others better than themselves, doing all things without Murmurings or Disputings, 4 avoid-

4 2 Tim. 2. 23, 24. ing all foolish and unlearn-

ed Questions, knowing that they do but gender Strifes, behaving your selves like the Servants of the Lord, who must not strive, but be gentle unto all Men, apt to teach, patient, mutually complying with each other, doing all things unto Edification, labouring after Peace and Unity, that so we may at length

5 Rom. 15. 5. with one mind and one

mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And for the Accomplishment of this blessed and glorious Design, let us above all things avoid Pride and Vain-glory, which, as it is to be feared, hath had no small share both in the causing and increasing of our Divisions: We have been so stiff and self-conceited, and stood so much upon the pitiful Punctilio's of Honour,

nour, that we have refused to condescend to one another, or to join in a way of Comprehension, or mutual Relaxation, which seems to be the only way left for Union and Agreement, if ever we hope, or intend to have it. Wherefore let me address my self unto you, in the Words of the Reverend and Moderate Bishop Hall, *Men,*

Brethren and Fathers help, *1 Passion Sermon,*

for Gods sake put to your Hands to the Quenching of this common Flame, the one side by Humility and Obedience, the other by Compassion, both by Prayers and Tears. And as he, so let me

2 beg for Peace as far *2 Ibid.*

Life, by your Filial Piety. to the Church of God, whose Ruins follow upon our Divisions, by your Love of Gods Truth, by the Graces of that one blessed Spirit, whereby we are all informed and quickened, by the precious Blood of that Son of God, which was shed for our Redemption, be inclined to Peace and Love, and though our Brains be different, yet let our Hearts be one. Let us all endeavour by a Compliance and a Comprehension to promote Love and Charity, Peace and Unity, that so being Children of Peace, and obedient Subjects of the Prince of Peace, the God of Peace may Bless us with Peace, Quiet and Serenity here, and at the end of our Days receive us into his Eternal Peace, and everlasting Rest; which God of his infinite Mercy grant may be the Portion of us all, through the Merits of his only Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen, and Amen.

P O S T

POSTSCRIPT.

BECAUSE some Practices and Customs mentioned in the precedent Treatise, were not from the first Plantation of Christianity, but were afterwards introduced; and others might not be universal, but only followed in some particular Churches; it will not be unnecessary to add a Table of the Names, Age, and Country of those Fathers, and of their Contemporaries, who have been cited by us, that so we may guess at the time when such Customs were brought in, and know the Places where they were chiefly practised.

Names.	Countries.	Age.
Several Synods held in	Africa between	Anno Christi 260.
Alexander Bishop of	Jerusalem,	Anno 228
Anonymus apud Euseb. lib.		
5. cap. 16. p. 182.	Lesser Asia,	170
Andronicus Bishop of	Rome,	164
The Synodical Letter	the Council of	
of —	Antioch, held	Anno 266
Apollinaris Bishop of	Ephesus in	
	Lesser Asia,	170
Apollonius —		200
Asturius —	Palastina,	260
Avellius —	Carthage,	252
Avremon —		196
Babylas Bishop of	Antioch,	246
Saint Barnabas		50
Basilides the Heretick	Alexandria,	134
Basilides a Bishop in	Spain,	258
TeRimus —	Carthage,	253
Letters of the Clergy of	of Carthage, written	Anno 250.
Rome, to the Clergy	between.	250
Clemens Bishop of	Rome,	170
Clemens of	Alexandria,	204
Cornelius Bishop of	Rome,	253
Crescens Bishop of	Certa in Africa,	258
Cyprian Bishop of	Carthage,	250
Dionysius Bishop of	Corinth,	172
Dionysius Bishop of	Alexandria,	260
Eusebius a Deacon of	Alexandria.	259
Fabianus Bishop of	Rome,	Anno 236
Firmilian Bishop of	Casarea in Cap-	
	padocia,	250
Fortunatus a Schismatic	in Africa,	255
Fortunatus Bishop of	Thucabari in A-	
	frica,	258
Gregory Bishop of	Neocaesarea,	240
Ignatius Bishop of	Antioch,	105
Irenaeus Bishop of	Lyons,	184
Justin Martyr.	Samaria,	155
Lucius Bishop of.	Rebeste in Afri-	
	ca,	258

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<i>Names.</i>	<i>Countries.</i>	<i>Ages.</i>
A Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienna.	to the Churches of Asia,	Anno 177
<i>Minusius Felix</i>	Rome,	230
<i>Martialis</i> a Bishop in	Spain,	258
<i>Natalis</i>	Rome,	210
<i>Nemesianus</i> Bishop of	Ibidunus in A-	
	frica,	258
<i>Novatian</i>	Rome,	252
<i>Origen</i> a Presbyter of	Alexandria,	230
<i>Palmar</i> Bishop of	Amphis in Pan-	
	ta,	190
<i>Papilus Samosatenus</i> Bp. of	Antioch,	264
<i>Plinius</i> an Heathen.		110
<i>Polycarpus</i> Bishop of	Smirna,	140
<i>Polycrates</i> Bishop of	Ephesus,	190
<i>Porcius</i> a Deacon of	Carthage,	260
<i>Privatus</i> Bishop of	Lambese in Africa,	
	do,	254
<i>Sabinus</i> Bishop of	Rodriga in Spain,	258
<i>Sedatus</i> Bishop of	Tunbo in Africa,	258
<i>Secundinus</i> Bishop of	Carpis in Africa,	258
An Epistle of the Church of Smirna to the Church of	Phnomilium,	168
<i>Stephen</i> Bishop of	Rome,	258
<i>Tatianus</i>	Syria,	180
<i>Tertullian</i> a Presbyter	of Carthage,	200
<i>Theodotus</i> Bishop of	Casarea in Pala-	
	stina,	218
<i>Theophilus</i> Bishop of	Casarea in Pala-	
	stina,	196
<i>Vitor</i> Bishop of	Rome,	196
<i>Victorinus</i> <i>Peruvianensis</i>	Hungary,	290
<i>Vincentius</i> Bishop of	Ibbaris in Africa	258
<i>Zoticus</i> Bishop of	Colmane in Lesser Asia,	268





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